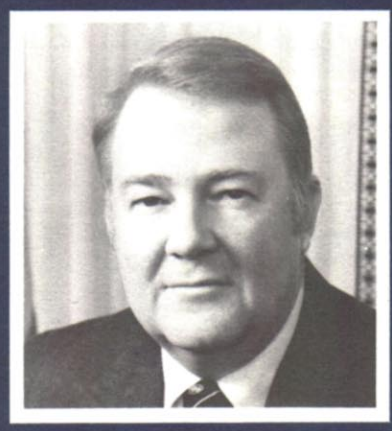
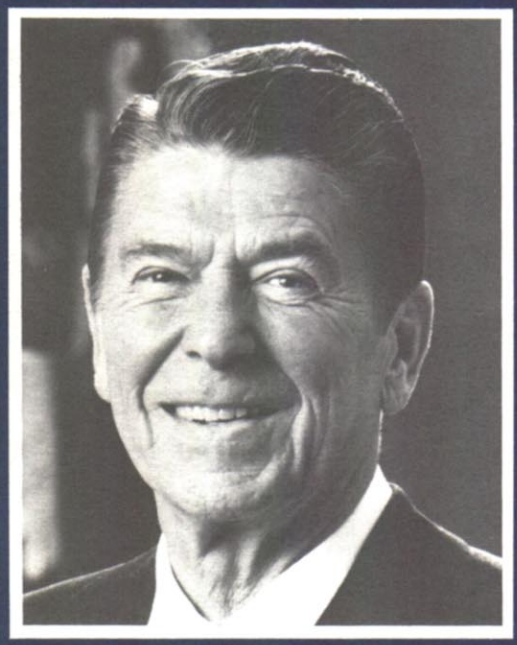
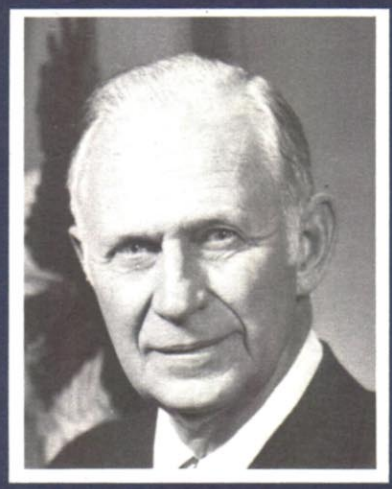
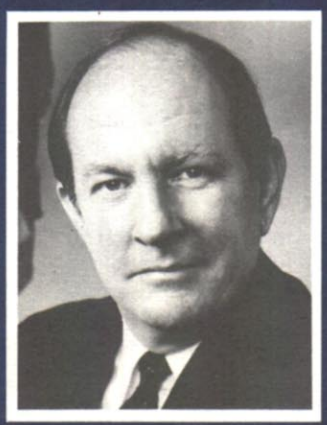
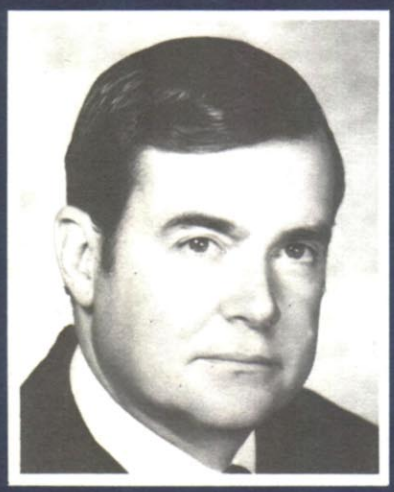
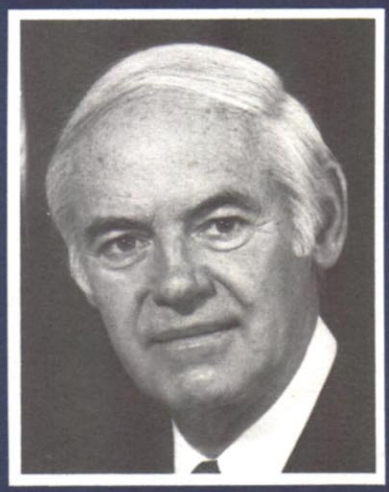
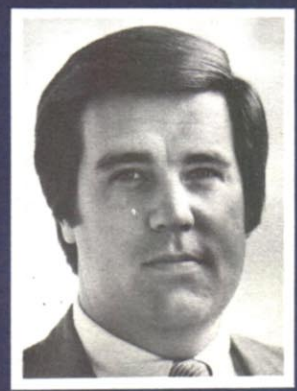
California Journal
Analysis of State Government and Politics
April 1982/$2.50

SPECIAL SECTION
June primary election:
candidates and analysis

The California connection: who's who in Washington?

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Former Republican Assemblyman Doug Carter of Stockton is running for his old seat for what seems like the hundredth time. In announcing his candidacy Carter revealed that he tried to recruit others and added, "I am personally as surprised as anyone at this development." Carter says he likes the Democratic incumbent, Pat Johnston, and has agreed to have lunch with him on election day.

What happens to members of the Assembly over a 20-year period? An unscientific survey reveals that about one-quarter are defeated running for re-election (as was Doug Carter). One-third are elected to higher office. One-fifth are defeated running for other offices. About one-eighth die in office, and another eighth retire voluntarily.

One of those who retired voluntarily is Burt Henson, now a judge in Ventura. His wife, Mayor Harriet Kosmo-Henson, is trying to win the family seat back after a lapse of almost 20 years.

Politicians who patronize a certain Chinese restaurant in Sacramento occasionally get this message in their fortune cookies: "Reform always comes from below. No man with four aces asks for a new deal."

The State Personnel Board invented a new verb in a memo regarding the selection of staff services manager: "As a result of this input, the following selection plan has been adopted (the major elements that were not in our November memo are asterisked)."

Success story: Patric Mayers, the young man who was a key witness on behalf of the legalization of marijuana for cancer patients, reports that he has been completely cured. The experience resulted in his entry into the political world, and he is now a deputy to state Senate leader David Roberti.

Who will succeed Senate candidate Charles Imbrecht of Ventura as the Republican spokesman on finance in the Assembly? The two leading candidates are Bill Baker of Contra Costa County and Bill Leonard of San Bernardino County.

That was quite a party they threw for Jerry Gillam, dean of the Capitol press corps, on his 50th birthday — complete

N.Y. Stocks

Los Angeles Times

Wednesday, February 24, 1982

State Holiday Declared, Canceled

Capitol's 'Golden Boy' Is 50

Gillam's Birthday Lea
Sacramento in Turmoi

*Museums Wa
Accept Gillam
Worn-Out Suit*

LATE NEWS

Gillam's Pal Also Dead

Lee Strasberg, Gillam's Acting Coach, Is Dead

with telegram from the White House ("Nancy and I think of you often.") and a special edition of the *Los Angeles Times*.

Lou Papan, the often-angry chairman of the Assembly Rules Committee, became a bit irate when he saw this cartoon by Steve Greenberg of the (San Fernando Valley) *Daily News*. Papan wasn't pleased with the central message of the cartoon, which deals with the way Papan punished Republican Ross Johnson, who had demanded an audit of the state capitol gala activities. But he was absolutely incensed that he was portrayed as a Roman. As Papan told Charlie Roberts of *The* (Santa Ana) *Register* (thinking Roberts was Bill Packer of the *Daily News*), "Romans are Italian, and I'm Greek." Papan considers that a racial slur, and Roberts thinks Papan should take his complaint to Senate leader David Roberti.

'82 DAILY NEWS, LOS ANGELES GREENBERG
ACCOUNT FOR $134,000 MISSPENT ??! HELL, I'M ACCOUNTABLE TO NO ONE, YOUNG MAN !!
G.O.P. AUDIT
PUBLIC FUNDS SPENT ON CAPITOL GALA
LOU PAPAN ASSEMBLY RULES CHAIRMAN

The California Young Republicans are posing a few problems for the party leadership. The YRs adopted resolutions opposing the Peripheral Canal and supporting a woman's right to choose whether she wants an abortion.

One of the names you will find missing from the list of Californians in the Reagan Administration later in this magazine is that of Timothy L. Coyle. A former San Diego restaurant manager, Coyle worked as a travel aide to Ronald Reagan while on the payroll of the Deaver & Hannaford consulting firm. The reason we left Coyle's name off the list is that we think his title merits special attention. He is the executive assistant to the associate general deputy to the assistant secretary for housing field operations in the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

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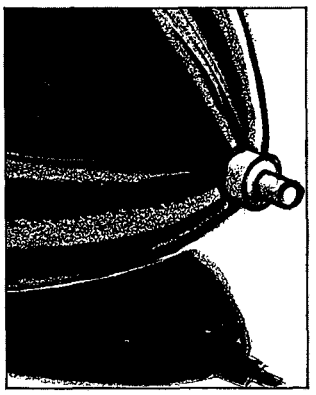

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California Journal *The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics*

Volume XIII, Number 4 April 1982

PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER
Thomas R. Hoeber

EDITOR
Ed Salzman

MANAGING EDITOR
Alice Nauman

ART DIRECTOR
Chris Van Overloop

ADVERTISING & CIRCULATION
Barbara Aguirre

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT
Leo Rennert

CONTRIBUTING ARTISTS
Paul Duginski, John Palmer

STAFF: Hope Tuttle, Mary E. Gillis, Kimberley A. Parisi

TELEVISION PRODUCTION
Joan Reiss

COUNSEL: Conrad Lee Klein

AUDITORS
Arthur Young & Company

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970 and published monthly by The California Center, a non-profit, public-benefit corporation specializing in research and education in government.

The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, Public Issues Index and California Periodicals Index.

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Governmental Agencies, $30; Corporations and Associations, $75; Special Individual Rate, $22. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840.

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Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

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Personal

PERSPECTIVE

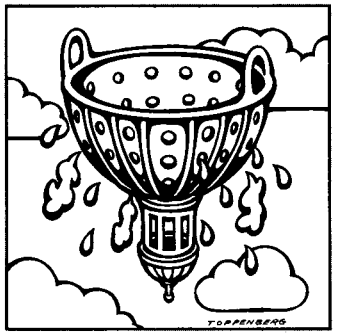
By Ed Salzman

I've got a secret

How could Ronald Reagan and company have expected to preside over a leakproof Washington after working in the sieve called Sacramento?

One of the first rules new legislators are told about life in the state Capitol is this: "There are no secrets in Sacramento." That message apparently was not impressed upon Reagan when he took over as governor of California. He soon learned to his chagrin that even income-tax returns can become public information in Sacramento if they contain any embarrassing messages. One of the most damaging stories ever written on Reagan was the result of a leak from the state Franchise Tax Board. That story, written by a Sacramento State University student named Rosemarie King (now executive director of the state Democratic Party), revealed that in one year Reagan paid no income taxes. That was at a time when Reagan was proclaiming for the rest of the state that "taxes should hurt."

Reagan had only to look at his own aides in Sacramento (and some of them have been part of his national administration) to see leaksmanship in action. His long-time political operative, Lyn Nofziger, has been known to let out little (and big) goodies for the advantage of his boss. And so have others close to Reagan and just about every other politician.



There are many reasons why there are no secrets in politics. Among them:

- Americans rarely go into politics to exert power in secret. Let's face it: Most politicians enter the public arena to blow their own horns.
- Leaks can be used artfully to float trial balloons, to embarrass an opponent, to place a story in friendly hands and for a variety of similar reasons.
- The personality makeup of politicians makes it difficult for them to keep secrets.
- Reporters spend a great deal of time and energy cultivating friends in the right places. These relationships are one of the main reasons why it is almost impossible to clamp a lid of secrecy on government agencies, especially on disgruntled employees who carry over from one administration to another.
- Politics is a game, and the main currency of the game is words. If communications are shut down, the game comes to an end.

Smart politicians will assume that embarrassing plans, information, appointments, whatever, will become public knowledge. They will then try to steer the release of the information at the least harmful or most advantageous time and to the best possible medium. Delay or an attempt to keep the lid shut tight will only maximize the likelihood of embarrassment.

When Reagan became governor, he made almost a complete sweep of the personnel in the executive office in order to get a totally loyal staff. The corner office still leaked like a sieve. Jerry Brown changed only those in policy positions, keeping the clerical holdovers from Reagan. There was no change in the leakage flow.

Perhaps the most loose-lipped institution in government is the legislative branch, where secrets are akin to miracles. The late Assemblyman Robert Crown probably said it best about 15 years ago, when there was an attractive, unmarried assemblywoman who graced a seat in the center of the Assembly chamber. Crown looked over at her one day and remarked to his seatmate: "None of the members is making it with her. There isn't a guy in this room who could keep that a secret."

Front and CENTER

From time to time, this space will be used for a report to the readers on activities at the *Journal* and its parent non-profit corporation, The California Center. (That's the derivation of the name of this column, in case you were wondering.)

This is the first issue in the history of the *California Journal* to contain paid advertising. As Thomas R. Hoeber, publisher of the *Journal*, announced in last month's issue, financial considerations require that the Center seek new sources of funding. No advertisement that would compromise the integrity of the *Journal* will be accepted.

This issue contains two small advertisements. Both are for other publications dealing with public affairs in California, and we think they will be of interest to the *Journal's* readers. The space occupied by these advertisements has been offset by a reduction in the amount of space normally occupied by in-house ads for the California Journal Press, not by a reduction in editorial copy.

We hope that enough space is purchased in future issues to allow for an increase in the number of articles in the magazine.

The *Journal* now has more than 20,000 subscribers. That may not sound like a large number, but take a look at other political magazines for comparison. We haven't checked every circulation statistic in the country, but we have not found a single all-political magazine with a larger number of subscribers compared to the population of the market. In other words, a national publication would have to obtain some 200,000 subscribers to be equal to the *Journal*. And a publication catering to a state with half California's population would need 10,000.

Some of those old *Journals* stored in your garage may be worth much more than you paid for them. We are out of two issues — May 1973 and March 1978 — and will pay $5 for each copy in good condition. They will be resold only to purchasers of complete sets of *Journals*.

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Don't call them the California Mafia

By MARTIN SALDITCH

No one in Washington calls them the "California Mafia." Presidential advisers such as Edwin Meese III, Michael K. Deaver and William P. Clark are too Brooks Brothers, too cool and too far above "getting even" to be compared, even figuratively, with a bunch of gangsters.

Vindictiveness and tough-guyism may have been the style of some top aides to former Presidents Jimmy Carter, Richard Nixon, Lyndon B. Johnson and John F. Kennedy, but such traits are atypical of those who are known simply as the Californians — those veteran Reaganites, marked with battle scars from Sacramento and past presidential campaigns, who are key figures in the current administration.

Unlike the Georgians who served Carter, the Californians are low-key team players who don't make newspaper headlines with personal scandals in bars and discos. They work long hours, go home to their wives at night and, for the most part, look forward to returning eventually to the "good life" on the West Coast.

How are they doing as the presidency of Ronald Reagan moves into its second year? That question was put to other California newspaper reporters who covered Reagan as governor as well as president and to some others close to the corridors of power in the nation's capital. The consensus seems to be that — despite some early fluffs — the current White House staff is at least the equal of any recent administration in brains and performance. It is also more powerful, because President Reagan tends to delegate to his aides more authority than did prior presidents to their staffs.

The White House decision-making process is in a transitional phase, with Clark replacing Richard Allen as national security adviser and Deaver planning to leave at the end of this year to earn more money in the public relations field. The first-year Big Three of the White House staff — Meese, Deaver and Texan James Baker, who carries the chief-of-staff title — are now the Big Four, with the recent transfer of Clark from the State Department.

Reagan is given high marks for appointing talented "outsiders" to his White House staff. Lou Cannon, *Washington Post* reporter who has just finished writing a new biography of Reagan, offers Baker as one example. "The thought of having as your chief of staff someone who has been the campaign manager of your last two opponents for the Republican presidential nomination — George Bush and Gerald Ford — is really remarkable," Cannon says. "Carter did not welcome into the White House people who had not been with him a long time."

Other examples of this open-minded attitude: Richard Darman, Baker's chief aide, once worked for Republican moderate Elliot Richardson in various federal agencies. And former Ford aide Max Friedersdorf served for a highly successful year as Reagan's congressional liaison before quitting for health reasons.

George Skelton, White House reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, says, "I believe that the Californians at the White House are a brighter, sounder bunch than the Georgians were." Cannon concurs: "I think the learning curve of the staff has been very good and very high. I think they really got an awful lot done during the first year. I think their foreign policy knowledge gap is being corrected with the strengthening of the National Security Council staff under Bill Clark."

CLARK

MEESE

Here is a rundown on the three Californians among the Big Four, including their strengths and weaknesses:

- **William Clark** — The former state Supreme Court justice has made a habit of surprising his detractors, both in California and Washington. Clark was ridiculed for his lack of knowledge and experience in foreign policy when he was named State Department undersecretary. He was similarly assailed a decade before for not having a law diploma when he was placed on the state Supreme Court by Reagan. Yet Clark was quite effective as chief deputy to Secretary of State Alexander Haig, and he helped to smooth out hassles between the White House and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger.

"I think Reagan will consult Clark on more than national security matters," comments one White House observer. "He may be as important to Reagan as Hamilton Jordan was to Carter. Reagan tends to go back to people he has trusted a long time." And Clark goes way back — to the 1966 campaign for governor and to the Sacramento years when, as staff chief, he hired Deaver and promoted Meese.

Ironically, Clark is now leading a Reagan crackdown on leaks to the press of security-classified information. Back in California in 1979, it was Clark whom state Chief Justice Rose Bird accused of leaks on court matters during a special

Martin Salditch is the Washington correspondent for the Riverside Press-Enterprise. *He was based in Sacramento during the Reagan state administration.*

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investigation of whether some decisions had been delayed for political reasons.

Clark recently named as a part-time consultant San Rafael-based businessman Thomas C. Reed, Air Force secretary for President Ford and Reagan's first appointments secretary in Sacramento. Reed managed Reagan's 1970 reelection campaign in California and was also a Pentagon adviser on technological and procurement issues. He may be promoted to a full-time post with the NCS staff if White House chiefs feel that he wouldn't trigger an ethics controversy similar to that which damaged Richard Allen. Last year, Reed was charged by the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission with illegally using insider information from his father, an Amax Corporation board member, to make a quick $427,000 in stock market profits on Standard Oil's proposed merger, which Amax later rejected. The SEC dropped the charges after Reed agreed to return the profits to the stock sellers, or charities, without admitting guilt.

- **Ed Meese** — Meese is most valuable for his ability to "get into Reagan's head" and to translate into details the general policy instructions issued by the president without trying to inject his own views. Although he is praised as a "synthesizer and conceptualizer," it is generally agreed that Meese is not a good manager or administrator. This is one reason why he was named counsel while Baker became chief of staff at the White House.

Meese's main mistakes during the first year are seen as public relations failures. He decided not to wake up Reagan last August to inform him that U.S. planes had downed two Libyan jets. He did not adequately alert Reagan to the politically sensitive proposal to cut Social Security benefits for those retiring before age 65. And he misjudged the reaction to restoring federal income-tax breaks to private schools which practice racial discrimination. The latter errors required embarrassing backtracking.

Meese has also been criticized by other White House aides for spending too much time on out-of-town speechmaking, particularly in California, stirring rumors he may want to run for statewide office after leaving the Reagan Administration.

- **Michael Deaver** — As deputy chief of staff, Deaver is mainly concerned with Reagan's schedule and image ("the keeper of the body"). The staffer who is personally closest to Reagan and his wife, Nancy, Deaver also gets into foreign policy in emergencies. For example, he prepared the briefing books for conferences in Canada and Mexico after the National Security Council under Allen did not do an acceptable job.

In addition to the substitution of Clark for Allen, another significant White House change came with the appointment of one-time California state Assembly staffer Edward Rollins to succeed Lyn Nofziger, Reagan's first press secretary in Sacramento, as political affairs director.

Unlike the other top Californians, Nofziger could be mean, rude and blunt-spoken; he also often looked like an unmade bed. He had access to Reagan because of his longtime loyalty and devotion to the president's politicial philosophy, but the Big Three tended to ignore his advice because it was too right-wing. However, Nofziger helped mollify that sector of the Republican Party by getting more Reaganite conservatives appointed to policy positions than would otherwise have occurred. And he got a good press because of his quick wit.

"What you got was a slow, agonizing struggle to name people to positions that should have been filled easily," contends one observer. "You have conservative ideologues in jobs they shouldn't be doing, and you have people in other positions who do not care about the objectives of this administration."

But the Reagan Administration is not above naming a liberal Democrat to office in return for a favor. That's why Richard M. Mosk, a Los Angeles attorney and son of state Supreme Court Justice Stanley Mosk, got a $93,000-a-year appointment to the Iran-U.S. Claims Tribunal, which is to settle business debts between the two countries in the wake of the January 1981 release of the American hostages. Clark approved the naming of Mosk after his father telephoned Senator Alan Cranston in support of Clark's nomination to the State Department position. The California senator was the only Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to vote for confirming Clark.

As Nofziger goes into private political consulting work (including part-time assistance to Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb in his current gubernatorial campaign), Rollins will be trying to hold Republican seats in Congress in the November elections against the customary setback two years later to the party that wins the White House. The political director's office will remain in former President Nixon's hideaway suite in the Executive Office Building, across from the White House. But Rollins may get the ear of his superiors more than Nofziger did if his advice turns out to be more centrist and pragmatic. His legislative-staff background in Sacramento should make him more sympathetic to the needs of the Republicans running for the House and Senate this year.

California has been given top priority for White House political attention this year in view of the "open" (no incumbents running for re-election) races for governor and U.S. senator, and its 45 seats in the House of Representatives. "Jerry Brown is our number one target as far as I'm concerned," says Rollins. "His philosophy is 180 degrees from where we are. It's important that we not have a senator from the president's home state sitting here nit-picking the president on everything he does and playing it back to his home state."

Another Californian who quit the White House after little more than a year was domestic policy development chief Martin C. Anderson. His critics contended that Anderson failed to produce innovative ideas and could not manage a large staff. Anderson, who was Reagan's chief issues adviser during the 1976 and 1980 presidential campaigns, returned to his prior post as senior fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. His wife, Annelise G. Anderson, also an economist and former research fellow at Hoover, remains as an associate director at the President's Office of Management and Budget. Edwin L. Harper, assistant director of Nixon's domestic council, was switched from OMB deputy director to the White House position held by Martin Anderson.

Another West Coast returnee from the White House is Edwin W. Thomas Jr., an assistant to Meese before he resigned March 1st. Thomas was Reagan's gubernatorial Cabinet secretary in Sacramento and now serves as regional administrator for the General Services Administration in San Francisco.

Edwin J. Gray, who serves under Harper as director of the office of domestic policy development, was the last of three Reagan press secretaries in Sacramento (following Nofziger and Paul Beck). From 1975 to 1980 he was senior vice president of San Diego Federal Savings and Loan Association, headed by Gordon Luce, a Reagan state cabinet member. Gray returned to the Reagan staff in the 1980 campaign, first as temporary press secretary, then as deputy chief of staff.

Now shy of the press, Gray has kept a low profile since getting media attention during Reagan's first days as president. He personally questioned Carter-hired White House secretaries on their political loyalties and subsequently fired most of them. Gray also reversed the Carter staff's informal dress code by banning slacks on women. Ronald B.

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Frankhum, deputy to Gray, was a local government aide on Reagan's staff in Sacramento and also an assistant to then-Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke.

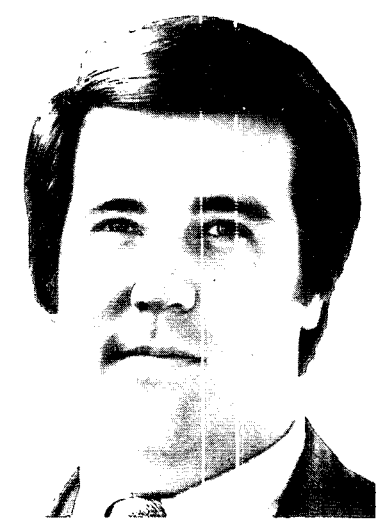
Other former Sacramento-era staffers now back on Reagan's staff:

James B. Jenkins has replaced Los Angeles public relations executive Robert M. Garrick as chief deputy to Meese.

Helene Von Damm served as Reagan's personal secretary in Sacramento and also at the White House. Last fall she was advanced to personnel office director.

E. Pendleton James, former Los Angeles executive recruitment firm owner, is assistant to the president for personnel. He held a similar job in the Nixon White House in 1971-73.

Melvin L. Bradley, urban affairs policy adviser, is the top black on the White House staff. He similarily advised



FULLER

DEAVER

Reagan in the governor's office on city-minority problems.

Edward V. Hickey Jr., ex-Secret Service agent who created and headed Reagan's security staff in Sacramento, now directs special support services which include Air Force One and Camp David, the Maryland mountain retreat.

Robert E. Carleson, Reagan's state welfare director, is now White House domestic policy adviser. He helped draft the president's "new federalism" and urban enterprise zone proposals.

Moving up fast

A fast-rising young Californian at the White House is Craig L. Fuller, 30. As the $60,000-a-year assistant for cabinet affairs, Fuller ranks just below the Big Four in influence. He first impressed Meese and Deaver as a state Capitol summer intern while attending UCLA. He later was employed by Deaver & Hannaford, Incorporated, Los Angeles public relations firm, which handled Reagan's radio and newspaper commentaries while he was out of office.

Two other Deaver & Hannaford alumni and former Reagan campaign workers are on the White House staff. They are Elaine Crispen, personal assistant to Mrs. Reagan, and Dottie Dellinger, visitors' center staff. Wendy Borcherdt, 1980 campaign finance director for the Los Angeles region, is on the staff of Elizabeth Dole, presidential assistant for public liaison.

Dodie T. Livingston, who prepares presidential greetings and messages to national conventions and testimonial events, was a communications specialist in the state Finance Department during the Reagan governorship. Her husband is Donald G. Livingston, vice president for public affairs for Carter Hawley Hale Stores, Incorporated, of Los Angeles. Both Livingstons, originally from Oakland, served on Governor Reagan's staff in Sacramento. Although the White House job has separated the family (their two sons, ages six and seven, reside in Washington with their mother), she says, "Don gets to Washington frequently on business, and I get back to California, so we still see each other." She finds the White House position "very challenging" and intends to stay until Reagan's four-year term is completed.

One of her aides is Jack Wells of Torrance, a public relations man involved in Reagan's presidential and gubernatorial campaigns. Her secretary is Violet Schmitt, a 69-year-old widow from Agoura, Los Angeles County, who moved from New Jersey to California in 1975 to retire but instead got involved in the Reagan presidential campaign.

Patricia Devine, who aided Governor Reagan's staff with its air reservations when she was Los Angeles special services manager for Western Airlines, is now White House travel director, arranging both staff trips and presidential trip press planes, hotel rooms and communications facilities.

Other Californians now serving the White House are A. Alan Hill, chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality, and William A. Niskanen Jr., member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. During the Reagan governorship, Hill served as assistant to state Resources Secretary Norman (Ike) Livermore, deputy director of the Conservation Department, and deputy secretary of the Agriculture and Services Agency. CEQ's staff has been cut from 54 to 15 under Reagan, and its oversight functions similarly reduced. Terry Eagan, CEQ's executive director, was a Reagan speechwriter in Sacramento.

Niskanen served on several task forces for Governor Reagan in the early 1970s and was assistant director for evaluation of the President's Office of Management and Budget during the Nixon Administration. He was fired in 1980 as Ford Motor Company's economics director after he refused to support the company's advocacy of restrictions on foreign car imports.

Weinberger and Smith

Outside the White House, the most prominent Californians in the Reagan Administration are Defense Secretary Caspar (Cap) Weinberger and Attorney General William French Smith. Both get passing but not outstanding marks from most Cabinet observers. Weinberger — the most government-experienced Cabinet member other than Haig — has been chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, budget director and HEW secretary under Nixon and Ford. But he is no longer known as the budget-cutting "Cap the Knife." His main victory in the past year was to repel Budget Director David Stockman's efforts to reduce projected Defense Department budget increases by some $30 billion over three years.

But perhaps due to his prior lack of military or industrial experience, Weinberger has not made any significant strategic or organizational changes at the sprawling Pentagon, and he has been indecisive about a basing mode for the MX missile. (Alternatives will be studied for several more years as the first such missiles are produced.) Weinberger also has not chosen between two possible successors to the aging B-52 bomber; both the B-1 and the radar-evading Stealth bomber will be developed, at considerable cost. As in Sacramento where he was Reagan's finance director, Weinberger annoys lawmakers in Washington with his unshakable certitude when expressing his views before congressional committees. "Weinberger was a brilliant

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budget director," comments one insider familiar with his past performance in public office. "But he is not a brilliant defense secretary."

However, Weinberger is still seen as ranking high with Reagan, as does Attorney General Smith. Previously Reagan's longtime personal attorney, Smith is a charter member of the so-called Kitchen Cabinet of wealthy businessmen who first urged Reagan to run for governor in 1966.

Soft-spoken in manner and performance, Smith has come under attack from civil rights groups for the administration's cutback in legal services for the poor, for its opposition to busing in desegregating public schools, and for contending that the Internal Revenue Service has no right under existing law to take away federal tax benefits from private schools which practice racial discrimination. His anti-crime program has been frustrated by Reagan budget cuts for federal and local law enforcement agencies. On Smith's plus side was his recommendation of Sandra Day O'Connor to be the first woman on the U.S. Supreme Court.

Two Californians who don't hold official positions with the Reagan Administration are still considered influential at the White House. They are Richard Wirthlin, Reagan's presidential campaign pollster who now conducts surveys for the Republican National Committee, and Nancy Clark Reynolds, chief Washington lobbyist for the Bendix Corporation and former press secretary for Mrs. Reagan in Sacramento. Reynolds helped pick the First Lady's White House staff and remains a close friend of the family.

There are two more Californians who have returned to the West Coast after first-year service with Reagan. They are Ken Khachigian, the president's chief speechwriter who went back to his consulting business, and Lenore Annenberg, who quit as chief of protocol at the State Department to spend more time with her publisher-husband, Walter, at their lavish estate near Palm Springs.

Generally, the Californians don't appear to have caught Potomac Fever — the urge to stay in the nation's capital. Those who have worked before for Reagan say they are here out of loyalty to him, rather than on a political power trip.

Alan Hill, the CEQ chairman, is not alone in renting in Washington while retaining his residence in California (San Rafael). "My lease here expires in mid-January, 1985, or at the end of the current presidential term," says Hill, who operated his own building-supply firm in San Francisco between his tours of duty with Governor Reagan and President Reagan. "It'll be good to go back. The weather here is awful."

A one-term president?

Increasingly, there is speculation that Ronald Reagan himself will be retiring to his isolated mountain ranch near Santa Barbara in January 1985, without seeking a second term, particularly if his economic policies don't bring down interest rates and unemployment by 1984. After a honeymoon year, the White House press corps has become increasingly critical of his 9-to-5 workday, off-the-cuff factual errors, and aloofness from detailed policy-making. Yet Reagan displayed all of those tendencies in Sacramento, and they didn't prevent his re-election as governor in 1970.

At age 71, how is Reagan bearing the burdens of the presidency? "If there is any one of us who hasn't aged in the last 10 years, it is he," responds Robert Carleson, the White House domestic policy aide who was his state welfare director. "It was surprising and striking to me (after returning to Reagan's staff last year), how very much the same he is. In the White House, he takes everything in stride, and doesn't seem to be letting the pressures of the office get him down. The decisions are quick, like they were in California."

Charles Z. Wick, director of the International Communication Agency who is a longtime Reagan fund-raiser and a member of Reagan's social inner circle, agrees the president is in "superb physical shape." Does he think Reagan will run again in 1984? "I don't know," admits Wick. "And I don't think he knows yet."

Facts, figures and arguments on the Peripheral Canal

How should you vote June 8th on the Peripheral Canal Referendum? Should you vote for or against the two inheritance-tax initiatives? How about Howard Jarvis' latest proposal?

We won't tell you whether to vote yes or no on these and the other propositions on the statewide ballot, but we'll make it much easier for you to make up your own mind. All you have to do is read the Journal's ballot-proposition booklet in next month's magazine.

The booklet will cut through all the rhetoric and give you background material and arguments on both sides of each issue.

This special report can be ordered now as a separate item at the following prices: 50 or more copies, 50 cents each; 10 - 49 copies, 75 cents each; 2 - 9 copies, 95 cents each; single copy, $1.25. Add sales tax to all but single-copy orders.

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Policy-making Californians in Washington

Californians abound in policy-making positions within c ozens of federal departments and agencies in Washington. They include the following:

CABINET

Caspar W. Weinberger, San Francisco attorney, secretary of defense.

William French Smith, Los Angeles attorney, attorney general.

AGRICU_TURE DEPARTMENT

Richard E. Lyng, deputy secretary; state agriculture secretary under Governor Reagan in 1967-69; assistant agriculture secretary in the Nixon Administration.

Everett G. Rank, administrator of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service; a Fresno farmer who served on the Clovis School Board.

COMMERCE DEPARTMENT

Mary A. Nimmo; public affairs office director, daughter of Veterans Administration Director Robert P. Nimmo; previously employed by Deaver & Hannaford, Incorporated, Los Angeles public relations firm. (Former Reagan aide Peter Hannaford bought full ownership of the firm after Deaver joined the White House staff in 1981.)

Egils Milbergs, director of the office of productivity, technology and innovation; former senior policy analyst at the Stanford Research Institute (1971-81); formerly with the President's Office of Management and Budget (1968-70).

Stefanie Lee Miller, aide to Nimmo, formerly operated a public relations firm in Beverly Hills; national co-chairman of Black Voters for Reagan-Bush in 1980 and a delegate to the last two Republican National Conventions.

Theron J. Bell, deputy director of the Minority Business Development Agency; held various senior management positions at ACTION, the federal agency for volunteer services, during the past eight years; Governor Reagan's special assistant for community relations (1967-69) and director of the State Office of Economic Opportunity.

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

Verne Orr, Air Force secretary; assistant director of Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign; former Pasadena car dealer; served as state finance director and motor vehicles director (1967-74). Named a regent of the University of California by Governor Jerry Brown in 1977; resigned after assuming Air Force position.

William R. Gianelli, Army assistant secretary for civil works; civilian head of the Army Corps of Engineers; director of the State Water Resources Department under Governor Reagan.

John Harrington, Navy assistant secretary for manpower and reserve affairs; moved last October to the Pentagon from the White House position of deputy assistant for personnel; formerly a Walnut Creek attorney and real estate developer.

E. C. Grayson Jr., Navy deputy assistant secretary for manpower; San Francisco civic leader who was president of Qualified Pension/Profit Sharing Consultants, Incorporated.

Edward J. Philbin, deputy assistant secretary of Defense for reserve affairs; previously San Diego Law School professor and law firm partner; Air Force intelligence reserve officer; former commander of a reserve unit at March Air Force Base, Riverside.

Dennis Shaw, deputy to Philbin; San Diego attorney who was active in the Air Force Reserve.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

Rita Marie Lavelle, assistant administrator for solid waste and emergency response; nominated to be director of EPA's hazardous waste-cleanup project; former communications director of Aerojet-General in Sacramento; consumer education director of the state Department of Consumer Affairs and publications assistant in the governor's office during the Reagan state administration.

Paul Cahill, director of the office of federal activities (liaison with other agencies on environmental matters); former state deputy attorney general for lands section; State Public Utilities Commission staff attorney; attorney at the state Health Department during the Reagan state administration.

ENERGY DEPARTMENT

W. Kenneth Davis, deputy secretary; former vice president for nuclear engineering of the Bechtel Corporation, San Francisco.

James G. Stearns, director of alcohol fuels office; awaiting Senate confirmation of new appointment to be chairman of the U.S. Securities Investor Protection Corporation. Served as state conservation director and Agriculture secretary under Reagan. Former member of the Modoc County Board of Supervisors; rancher.

Dr. Alvin W. Trivelpiece, energy research director; former executive with several San Diego research firms; assistant director for thermonuclear research at U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, (1973-75).

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

David P. Swoap, undersecretary; former state welfare director under Reagan.

Dorcas R. Hardy, assistant secretary for human development services; former associate director of health services research at University of Southern California; state assistant secretary of health in 1974.

Phillip N. Hawkes, director of the office of refugee resettlement; former anthropology professor at Sacramento State University.

James Stockdale, deputy undersecretary for intergovernmental affairs; executive director of the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign; former political director of Citizens for the Republic, Los Angeles-based conservative group founded by Reagan in 1975.

Marilee Monagan, special assistant to the deputy undersecretary for intergovernmental affairs; former consultant for the state Assembly Office of Research and aide to then-Senator Peter Behr of Marin County; daughter of former Assembly Speaker Robert T. Monagan, now president of the California Manufacturers Association.

Patrick McKelvey, public information director for human development services (welfare); former speechwriter at Lockheed Corporation, Burbank, and assistant press secretary for Governor Reagan in Sacramento.

Gary Cuneo, director of office of advisory committees to HHS; former executive secretary of the California Board of Chiropractic Examiners for seven years; former executive assistant to Dr. Earl Brian, state health and welfare secretary in Reagan state administration.

John A. Svahn, director of the Social Security Administration; former Reagan state welfare director who headed the U.S. Office of Child Support during the Ford Administration.

Dr. William E. Mayer, director of the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration; former state health director and mental health director under Reagan; former chief of the U.S. Army Europe Alcoholism Treatment Facility in West Germany.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Benjamin F. Bobo, deputy assistant secretary for housing research; former assistant professor of business administration at University of California, Riverside.

R. Carter Sanders, Jr., deputy assistant secretary for field operations; former San Diego attorney specializing in corporate partnerships and real estate law.

Roy E. Demmon, special assistant for multifamily housing programs; former San Jose real estate developer; vice chairman of the California State Toll Bridge Authority (1969-77).

Stuart Davis, executive assistant to the deputy assistant secretary for multifamily housing; former San Francisco mortgage banker.

Robert W. Karpe, president of the Government National Mortgage Association which guarantees securities funneled into home mortgages; state real estate commissioner (1971-75). Bakersfield realtor; past president of the California Real Estate Association.

Thomas Anfinson, executive assistant to the general manager of the New Community Development Corporation; formerly operated a Newport Beach accounting firm; U.S. tax manager for Toyota Motors (1972-74).

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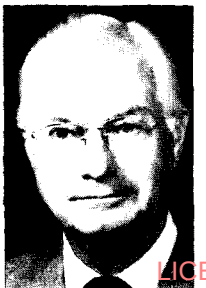
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DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

Darrell M. Trent, deputy secretary; former associate director of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.

Timothy Cole, congressional affairs officer; former public affairs director of Continental Airlines; formerly Governor Reagan's liaison with the Assembly and deputy finance director under Verne Orr.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR

G. Ray Arnett, assistant secretary for fish, wildlife and parks; former state fish and game director under Governor Reagan. (The only top appointee serving under Secretary James Watt with a pro-environmentalist background, Arnett helped found the Wildlife Conservation Fund of America.)

Stanley W. Hulett, director of congressional affairs; previously executive vice president of the California Forest Protective Association based in Sacramento; associate director of the National Park Service and deputy director of the Outdoor Recreation Bureau (1971-74); former legislative assistant to Congressman Don H. Clausen of Northern California.

Candy Johnson, deputy chief of public affairs for the Bureau of Land Management; previously held similar BLM positions in Sacramento and Long Beach; former public information officer with the state Lands Commission and the state Department of Water Resources.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

D. Lowell Jensen, assistant attorney general in charge of the criminal division; former Alameda County district attorney and deputy county attorney. (Jensen and Ed Meese served together as deputy district attorneys in Oakland.)

Theodore B. Olson, assistant attorney general for legal counsel; partner for 16 years with Attorney General Smith's Los Angeles law firm, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher.

Alan G. Nelson, director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service; former deputy director; former San Francisco attorney and Reagan's state director of rehabilitation services.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

John F. Cogan, assistant secretary for policy, evaluation and research; former senior research fellow and assistant professor of economics at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, and a Rand Corporation economist.

Ford B. Ford, assistant secretary for mine safety and health; previously a Sacramento-based business consultant on health and safety matters; former chairman of the State Occupational Safety and Health Appeals Board, deputy secretary of the State Resources Agency and, from 1959-66, executive director of the State Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Natural Resources.

Robert Collyer, deputy undersecretary for employment standards; formerly with the Industrial Indemnity Company in San Francisco, Sacramento and San Jose before moving to Washington several years ago to become an insurance industry lobbyist.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Theodore Cummings, ambassador to Austria; Beverly Hills real estate developer who belongs to Reagan's Kitchen Cabinet of wealthy supporters.

William A. Wilson, president's envoy to the Vatican; rancher and land developer who has been a trustee of Reagan's financial assets as well as a Kitchen Cabinet member.

Robert D. Nesen, ambassador to Australia and the Pacific island of Nauru; a Thousand Oaks car dealer who was president of the State New Car Dealers Policy and Appeals Board and the State Board of Education during Reagan's governorship.

H. Monroe Browne, ambassador to New Zealand and Western Samoa; Bakersfield businessman who has operated cattle and tire companies; from 1975 to his appointment last year, president and chief executive officer of the Institute for Contemporary Studies, San Francisco.

Janet McCoy, high commissioner for the U.S. trust territories of Palau, Marshall Islands and Micronesia in the South Pacific; veteran Reagan campaign press aide; state tourism director during his state administration.

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

R. T. McNamar, deputy secretary; Los Angeles financial consultant; executive director of the Federal Trade Commission (1974-76).

Marc E. Leland, assistant secretary for international affairs; former San Francisco attorney who was general counsel of both the Peace Corps and ACTION during the Nixon Administration; State Department representative at U.S.-Soviet military force reduction talks in Vienna (1976-78).

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

Robert P. Nimmo, director; state assemblyman and senator (1973-80) representing San Luis Obispo County.

Paul Bannai, *memorial affairs director (in* charge of veterans cemeteries); Republican state assemblyman from Los Angeles County (1973-80); former member of the Gardena City Council and a Realtor in that city.

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

Major General Thomas K. Turnage, director; a career Army officer from Long Beach who served in high positions with the California Army National Guard during the Reagan state administration.

ACTION

Lawrence F. Davenport, associate director; former provost of the San Diego Community College District and president of its educational-cultural complex; former chairman of the board of the San Diego Urban League.

Barbara Wyatt, director of the youth volunteer community service program; Los Angeles County private school teacher since 1973; previously helped operate the management consulting firm of her husband, Frederic A. Wyatt; national chairman for Vietnam prisoner bracelets; editor of a 1975 book, *We Came Home,* about the experiences of 465 U.S. servicemen who were Vietnam prisoners of war.

Jackie Harker, deputy assistant director; past president (1976-77) of the California Federation of Republican Women; member of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development and the State Special Services Board.

Lois Bowman, special assistant for domestic operations; former management services officer for San Diego Mesa College and operations manager for the San Diego Community College District.

CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD

Clinton Dan McKinnon, chairman; owns radio station KSON, San Diego, and television stations in Corpus Christi and Beaumont, Texas; son of former San Diego Congressman Clint McKinnon; lost a 1980 Republican congressional primary race to Bill Lowery.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AGENCY

Charles Z. Wick, director; another Kitchen Cabinet member; in charge of companies involved in motion pictures, television, nursing homes and real estate; a major fund-raiser in the 1980 presidential campaign.

James B. Conkling, associate director for broadcasting (in charge of Voice of America); former Los Angeles director of the Bonneville International Corporation, which operates 11 radio and two television stations; also held top positions with Capitol, Columbia and Warner Brothers record companies.

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

William H. Draper III, president; founder of a Palo Alto venture capital firm providing equity capital and management expertise to emerging companies; former national campaign finance co-chairman for Vice President George Bush.

INTER-AMERICAN BANK

Hugh W. Foster, U.S. alternate executive director (or deputy delegatee); former vice president and manager of the Asian-Pacific Division of Wells Fargo Bank in San Francisco. The 43-nation Development Bank makes loans to Latin American countries.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

James C. Sanders, associate administrator for management assistance; former San Jose insurance executive and friend of presidential aide Michael Deaver.

Donald R. Templeman, deputy administrator; former executive assistant to GOP Congressman Jerry Lewis of San Bernardino.

MERIT SYSTEMS BOARD

Herbert Ellingwood, chairman; former White House deputy counsel before being shifted to head the panel which hears appeals of civil service employees on job-related matters; Governor Reagan's legal affairs secretary.

COPYWRIGHT ROYALTY TRIBUNAL

Edward W. Ray, one of five commissioners; former Los Angeles record company executive with Capitol, Imperial and Cream-Hi Records, and head of a real estate investment firm.

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

Clarence M. Pendleton Jr., president of the San Diego Urban League, to be chairman of the advisory U.S. Civil Rights Commission, succeeding Arthur Fleming, a critic of Reagan's civil rights policies.

AWAITING CONFIRMATION:

Preston Martin, state savings and loan commissioner in 1967-69, to be a member of the Federal Reserve Board.

Eugene V. Lipp, former member of the state Alcoholic Beverage Control Appeals Board, to the National Transportation Safety Board, which investigates airplane, rail and bus accidents.

John R. Van de Water, Los Angeles attorney and labor-management consultant, to be chairman of the National Labor Relations Board.

Tony E. Gallegos, manager of equal opportunity programs at Douglas Aircraft, Long Beach, to be a member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Peter H. Dailey, Los Angeles advertising executive who helped make television commercials for the 1980 Reagan campaign, to be U.S. ambassador to Ireland.

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SPECIAL SECTION

Complete list of candidates and analysis of all 158 races

By ED SALZMAN

What will be foremost on the minds of California voters when they march to the polls this year? Will it be the unemployment, interest rates, problems in Central America and a general feeling of disaffection with the administration of the Californian in the White House? Or will economic conditions improve in the coming months, directing more voter attention to such issues as the state's fiscal crisis, the Medfly and reapportionment? If the electorate is thinking about Washington, this could be a bad year for Republicans. On the other hand, Democrats could lose the governorship and plenty more if the voters focus on Sacramento.

In a sense, it is a minor miracle that the 1982 elections will be conducted in anything like an orderly fashion. As late as mid-March it was uncertain whether there would be 11 or 12 propositions on the statewide June ballot. The hassle over redistricting of legislative districts prevented Californians from learning the configuration of the state's political map until the eve of filing for office. Beyond that, there were more than the usual number of irregular actions by major political figures during the pre-primary months. Mayor Pete Wilson of San Diego switched from the governor's race to the contest for United States Senate; Senator S.I. Hayakawa folded his campaign for re-election; state Controller Ken Cory waited virtually until the last minute before revealing his plans for the '82 election.

The reapportionment issue produced an unusual situation for this election. Members of the Legislature and the House of Representatives will be nominated June 8th — at the same time the voters may decide to throw out the districts in which they are running. Republican-sponsored iniative measures, Propositions 10, 11 and 12, would invalidate the districts and set the stage for a complex battle anew over redistricting. It is entirely possible that a Legislature elected under voter-rejected lines may draw the new reapportionment plan.

The '82 election season has been unusual in another respect; Even without the incumbent governor seeking re-election, it became clear early in the year that the races for the state's highest office would be relatively non-competitive (barring a comeback by Mike Curb or an enormous leap by one of Tom Bradley's Democratic challengers). Thus the campaign emphasis shifted to the Senate race, where Governor Jerry Brown was the leading Democrat and a large field had assembled to scramble for the right to carry the Republican standard against him.

As has become commonplace, a great deal of attention has been directed to ballot propositions, especially the measures dealing with the Peripheral Canal, reapportionment, taxation and crime. (An analysis of all June ballot measures will be included in next month's *Journal.)*

Governor: Dull and duller

Democrats: Tom Bradley, John Garamendi, Mario Obledo, Raymond V. Liebenberg, Genevieve Grafe Marcus, Joseph Ramos, Linda I. Parnell, Hugh G. Bagley, Jules Kimmett, Frank L. Thomas, John Hancock Abbott, Ben (Golf) Trevino.

Republicans: Mike Curb, George Deukmejian, Michael A. Hirt.

Peace and Freedom: Jan Tucker.
Libertarian: Dan Dougherty.
American Independent: James Griffin.

Attorney General George Deukmejian and Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles posted such significant leads in the pre-filing polls that it is hard to envision a lively primary contest in either party this year. Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb started the exhibition season ahead of Deukmejian, but then blew his lead almost overnight. Can Curb come back? He was trying with some commercials on Los Angeles television stations that featured well-known former law-enforcement officials. But political trends are difficult to reverse, especially when the media shows a distinct preference for the other candidate.

On the Democratic side, Bradley was far ahead of the field from the start. And the decision by state Controller Ken Cory to run for re-election took one possible threat out of the race. Bradley had little to fear from former state Health and Welfare Secretary Mario Obledo, who was unable to line up the support of all Hispanic officeholders. Perhaps the most dynamic candidate in the field, state Senator John Garamendi, was faced with the problem of establishing name identification in Southern California before even trying to convince voters that he should be chosen ahead of Bradley.

The outlook for November is for a race between candidates with so little personal charisma that they will be forced to talk about issues to get the attention of the voter.

How this analysis was compiled

Candidate names and voter-registration statistics were obtained from the secretary of state's office. Some changes may have occurred since this report was prepared as a result of court action, disqualification of candidates and the normal fluctuation in registration figures.

Districts designated with the key symbol are those in which primary election outcome is considered particularly significant.

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Lieutenant Governor: Rewind the rhetoric

Democrats: Leo McCarthy, Charles Pineda Jr., Tenney E. Sitar, William Ross Watkins.

Republicans: Marz Garcia, Carol Hallett.

Libertarian: John R. Vernon.

Less than two years ago, Leo McCarthy and Carol Hallett faced each other on the floor of the Assembly as the leaders of their political parties. The voters at large will get a repeat of their rhetoric this year during the campaign for lieutenant governor, barring a major upset in the GOP primary.

McCarthy, former speaker of the Assembly, wanted to run against Jerry Brown for the United States Senate nomination this year. But party moneybags convinced him that he should bow out. In exchange, McCarthy was promised red-carpet treatment in the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor. And no other big names in the party filed for the office.

Hallett, former minority leader in the McCarthy-run Assembly, has had her eye on the lieutenant governor's job for a few years. She originally planned to run on a ticket with Mike Curb, but she fled from that plan when Curb started plunging in the polls. Hallett figures to get big money from the state's agricultural interests. In the primary, her main opposition will come from state Senator Marz Garcia, one of the classiest members of the Legislature and a victim of reapportionment.

Secretary of State: The Eu dynasty?

Democrats: March Fong Eu (incumbent), Alice Keyser, Helen Howard, Kenneth R. Smith.

Republicans: Jay Margosian, Glenn A. Rose, Gordon Duffy.

Peace and Freedom: Milton Takei

Libertarian: Martin Buerger.

Democrat March Fong Eu has won very convincingly the last two times she faced the voters. Will she be able to remain in office indefinitely, regardless of the political winds, as did the Frank Jordans, father and son? She will be able to husband her financial resources through the primary and wait to see which Republican she must face in November.

Within political circles, Assemblyman Gordon Duffy of Hanford is the best known of the GOP candidates. But Jay Margosian was the party nominee four years ago, and there's no telling how voters will react to names this low on the statewide ballot. Margosian didn't give Eu much of a run four years ago, and Duffy might be able to do better.

Controller: Sounding the retreat

Democrats: Ken Cory (incumbent), Ira Clark.

Republicans: Truman Campbell, James A. Ware, Ollie Speraw, William E. Coombs, Larry Lee Bales, James Flournoy.

Libertarian: Mary Ginzell.

For many months, Democrat state Controller J. Kenneth Cory kept political insiders curious about his intentions. Would he run for governor, U.S. senator, re-election as controller or bow out of politics? Candidates made their plans based on the assumption that Cory would not seek re-election. In early March, he forced them to run for cover by making a dramatic announcement before the state Assembly that he would seek a third term.

Even before that, potential GOP candidates Jack Ford and Ernie Dronenburg had withdrawn. Later, Democrats Alex Pope and Dan Boatwright chose not to challenge Cory, who was left with a fairly clear field in the Democratic primary. Some new Republican candidates surfaced, including state Senator Ollie Speraw and former Senator William E. Coombs. Also in the race is the 1978 surprise primary winner James A. Ware. Speraw figures to raise far more money than any other candidate.

Treasurer: Unruh vs. the unknowns

Democrat: Jesse M. Unruh (incumbent).
Republicans: Phil Kazanjian, James Stieringer, Don French.
Libertarian: Less Antman.
Peace and Freedom: Kevin Akin.

Had seven-foot Bruce Roberts elected to remain in the Republican primary for state treasurer, Californians might have been treated to a battle of the behemoths — and one in which Unruh was by far the smaller of the contenders at that. But Roberts took himself out of the race, leaving the Republican primary to relatively unknown candidates. Don French ran against Unruh four years ago, but who remembers him except political freaks? Glendale attorney Phil Kazanjian probably has as good a chance in the primary as French. After all, this could be the year of the Armenian names in the GOP primary.

Superintendent of Public Instruction: The vacuum syndrome

(Non-partisan)

Wilson Riles (incumbent), Richard Ferraro, Gene Prat, Bill Honig, Janet L. Allen, Jeanne Baird.

Three-term Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles committed one of the cardinal sins of politics. He created the appearance of a political vacuum by acting as though he would not seek re-election this year. By the time he let it be known that he wasn't really serious about retiring or running for the United States Senate, the arena was filled with candidates clamoring to occupy the vacuum. As a result, Riles faces an uphill struggle to retain his non-partisan office.

Among the opponents are Richard Ferraro, a member of the Los Angeles school board; Bill Honig, a member of the state Board of Education; and Gene Prat, a former aide of Senator S. I. Hayakawa. Can Riles expect to get half the vote at the June primary to retain his post? Hardly. Four years ago, he obtained only 52 percent of the vote against a field of nonentities.

Although the incumbent has the backing of the California Teachers Association, he may be lucky to finish first or second on the list to win a place in the November runoff. It is not difficult to imagine a scenario in which one of the more conservative candidates, such as Ferraro or Prat, and a moderate contender, such as Honig, finish one-two and put Riles out of office. On the other hand, Riles realizes that he has his toughest fight since 1970, and he is running an aggressive campaign to keep his job.

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Attorney General: Tale of two parties

Democrats: John Van de Kamp, Omer Rains.
Republicans: Dave Stirling, George Nicholson.
Peace and Freedom: Dan Siegel.
Libertarian: Bartholomew Lee.

The Republican primary contest to replace Attorney General George Deukmejian is difficult to figure. Neither of the main contenders is well known to the electorate. Dave Stirling has been an assemblyman representing the Whittier area, and George Nicholson has held a variety of law-enforcement jobs. He has been working for Deukmejian but is known primarily as the former spokesman for the district attorneys of California. Nicholson has the problem of making himself known to Southern Californians.

The Democratic primary is quite a different story. District Attorney John Van de Kamp has one of the best-known political and gastronomical names in the state, although not all the publicity he has received has been favorable. His prime opponent, state Senator Omer Rains of Ventura County, must make up a great deal of name-identification ground to get into the ball game with Van de Kamp.

United States Senate: Candidate fever

Democrats: Edmund G. Brown Jr., Daniel K. Whitehurst, Paul Carpenter, Gore Vidal, Tom Metzger, James G. Triphon, Ray Caplette, Walter R. Buchanan, William F. Wertz, Richard Morgan, Bob Hampton, Mary Dubinsky-Chote, Aristotle Scoledes.

Republicans: Maureen Reagan, Pete Wilson, Robert Dornan, Ted Bruinsma, John Schmitz, William Shockley, Barry Goldwater Jr., Robert K. Booher, John J. Hickey, Edison P. McDaniels, Ralph Cortes.

American Independent: Theresa Dietrich.

Libertarian: Joe Fuhrig.

Peace and Freedom: David Wald.

It hardly made any difference whether incumbent Republican Senator S. I. Hayakawa sought re-election or not. The polls showed that he was through, and Republicans galore rushed into the arena to compete for his job.

The race drew most of the glamour names of California politics — Brown, Reagan, Goldwater and even author Gore Vidal. It figured to be the kind of race that helps get California its reputation as the land with a climate perfect for the proliferation of political fruits and nuts.

The Democratic situation was bizarre enough: Polls indicated that Governor Jerry Brown was quite unpopular. Yet the same polls indicated that he would eradicate his primary competition on June 8th. Vidal figured to get a disproportionate amount of the publicity and relatively few of the votes. (Republicans, not Democrats, nominate show biz types in California.) State Senator Paul Carpenter and Mayor Daniel K. Whitehurst of Fresno have been trying for months to attack Brown from the right without much success.

The Republican situation was even more complicated: The frontrunner has been Congressman Barry Goldwater Jr., who has nothing much beside name identification going for him, but that may be enough. (Columnist Richard Reeves savaged Goldwater with an article showing how the candidate mangles the English language, yet Hayakawa was an acknowledged authority on the language and that didn't help his re-election chances.) Pollster Mervin Field thinks Goldwater's biggest asset in the early running was the lack of a single, clear-cut opponent. That's because Mayor Pete Wilson of San Diego and Congressman Pete McCloskey were bracketed behind Goldwater, with First Daughter Maureen Reagan and Congressman Robert Dornan getting smaller pieces of the action. Field theorized that if Wilson or any other candidate could make an either-or race out of the primary, Goldwater might well be in deep trouble. Wilson's biggest problem was a moderate image with conservative Republicans. McCloskey and Reagan were also viewed as moderates or mavericks, leaving the conservative field to Goldwater and Dornan. The big question at filing time was whether Dornan would be able to mount a blitz campaign to challenge for the lead.

Board of Equalization: Full field for the first

District 1 (52%D-35%R) — Democrats: A. John Shimmon, Conway Collis, Quentin Kopp, Ed Burke, Julian Goldstein, Wayne Scott, Warren Church, William Brown Jr., Lionel Monterey. **Republicans:** Bill Ivers, Elaine Donaldson, Joe H. Adams Jr., Leo Bagdonas, Oliver W. Wright. **Peace and Freedom:** Andrew Paul Kangas

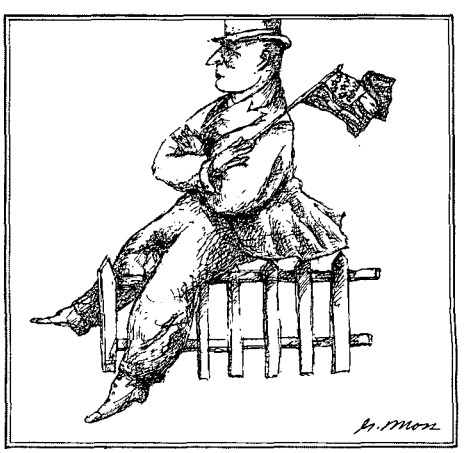
District 2 (46%D-41%R) — Republicans: Ernest J. Dronenburg Jr. (incumbent), Jim Burton. **Democrats:** Edmund J. Kelley, Glenn Parker, Fayne Davis, James Grosekemper, Mary Christian-Heising. **Libertarians:** Jayne Protas, Jack Dean.

District 3 (54%D-32%R) — Democrats: William M. Bennett (incumbent), Fred Ernst. **Republicans:** Martin Ralstin, Bob McCarroll, John Paul Jones II. **Libertarian:** William Evers. **Peace and Freedom:** Tom Condit.

District 4 (61%D-29%R) — Democrats: Richard Nevins (incumbent), Saul Lankster, Shirley Smith. **Republican:** Dede Audet. **Peace and Freedom:** Lewis McCommon.

George Reilly of San Francisco this year is giving up his seat on the state Board of Equalization, a post he has held since 1939. And there is no shortage of supercharged candidates to replace him in the low-profile post. The Democrats include Supervisor Quentin Kopp of San Francisco and Conway Collis of Tarzana, who will have the full force of the Waxman-Berman organization behind him in the sprawling district. (Collis was promised help in return for pulling out of the Assembly race against Gray Davis.) Will this amount to a north-south split between political pros, and will Reilly aide John Shimmon stand a chance against them? The Republican candidate in November should be Assemblyman Bill Ivers of La Canada-Flintridge, who found himself in the same district with fellow Republican Pat Nolan.

The incumbents are seeking re-election in the other three districts. They are Republican Ernest Dronenburg and Democrats William Bennett and Richard Nevins.



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House of Representatives: Year of the Burtons

Reapportionment strategist Phillip Burton of San Francisco outraged Republicans last year by the way he reshaped the congressional map of California to maximize chances for Democrats to win seats at this year's elections. The Democrats now hold a slim 22-21 edge in the state's House delegation, and Burton drew a map that was geared to a 27-18 split after the political dust settles.

Some strange things happened en route to Burton's Democratic march of Californians to Washington. Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the congressional redistricting plan was the bizarre district drawn so that Burton's brother, John, could remain in Congress. But after the geography of the Bay Area was rewritten to help him, John Burton decided not to seek re-election.

Phil Burton had gone to such extremes to give his brother the best Democratic precincts in San Francisco that he gave himself less than an ideal district. Now he faces a tough re-election fight against San Francisco's most successful Republican, liberal state Senator Milton Marks.

Burton also targeted for political extinction Republican John Rousselot, who had been an active campaigner against John Burton in 1980. Rousselot's district was merged with that of fellow Republican Carlos Moorhead. Now Rousselot is running in the 30th district, a constituency supposedly drawn for an Hispanic Democrat. Rousselot cannot be counted out, although the district is traditionally Democratic.

Two Republican incumbents, Wayne Grisham and David Dreier, are running against one another as a result of a decision by a third Republican, Jerry Lewis, to run in the district earmarked for Dreier. Two dozen candidates have filed in the district being abandoned through the retirement of Republican Clair Burgener of San Diego.

District 1 (51%D-34%R) — Republican: Incumbent Don Clausen of Crescent City. Democrats: Doug Bosco of Occidental, Mike Koeps of Elk. Libertarian: David Redick of Windsor.

Veteran Republican Clausen faces two major problems this year — a district weakened by redistricting and an extraordinarily tough opponent, young Assemblyman Doug Bosco.

District 2 (50%D-38%R) — Republican: Incumbent Gene Chappie of Chico. Democrats: Jack Carrico of Yuba City, John Newmeyer of Napa. Peace and Freedom: Howard Fegarsky of Chico.

Chappie is too tough a customer for the Democrats to target. His only worry is a huge anti-Republican turnout in November.

District 3 (57%D-32%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Bob Matsui of Sacramento, William J. Kipp of Sacramento. Peace and Freedom: John C. Reiger of Sacramento. Libertarian: Bruce A. Daniel of Newcastle.

Matsui is so well entrenched that he will probably be able to devote much of his energy this year in races of fellow Democrats in Sacramento.

District 4 (56%-30%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Vic Fazio of West Sacramento. Republicans: Cyril H. Stevenson of Saramento, Roger B. Canfield of Citrus Heights, Michael P. Clancey of Davis.

Fazio is a polished political professional who knows how to keep the home folks happy. He was hurt by reapportionment but probably not enough to make him vulnerable. Canfield is a Republican political technician who looks strong on paper. But he has run before and has come up far short.

District 5 (59%D-22%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Phillip Burton of San Francisco. Republicans: Milton Marks and Tom Spinosa of San Francisco. Libertarian: Justin Raimundo of San Francisco.

This figures to be one of the nation's best races in November. If there is one Democrat the GOP would dearly love to defeat, it is Phil Burton, architect of the current redistricting plan. Burton is one of the most effective members of Congress and a darling of the environmentalists. His opponent will be veteran state Senator Milton Marks, who will be carrying the Reagan banner even though he votes like a liberal Democrat. Each side could spend more than $1 million before the votes are counted.

District 6 (57%D-26%R) — Republican: Dennis McQuaid of Novato. Democrats: Barbara Boxer of Greenbrae, Noel Day and Louise Renne of San Francisco, Louis Mountanos of San Rafael, Anthony Intintoli of Vallejo.

John Burton's surprise announcement that he would not seek re-election caused a great deal of political maneuvering in this district that was gerrymandered so that the younger Burton brother could survive. McQuaid came reasonably close two years ago. Now his chore is more difficult. The Democratic front-runners are Supervisors Boxer and Renne. Intintoli is a councilman and Mountanos the former sheriff of Marin County. McQuaid is hoping for a victory by some Democrat other than Boxer. The district is usually loyal to Democrats.

District 7 (57%D-32%R) — Democrat: Incumbent George Miller Jr. of Martinez. Republicans: Paul E. Vallely of Walnut Creek, Fred LaManna of Concord, Giles St. Clair of Alamo, Gary Prince of Walnut Creek, Jean Last of Brentwood.

Why are so many Republicans competing for the chance to tackle the popular Miller in the year of the Peripheral Canal? Miller has a solid base in Contra Costa County and he usually wins by large margins. Republicans are impressed with Vallely, a West Point graduate, and hope to strike paydirt with him some day.

District 8 (59%D-27%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Ron Dellums of Berkeley, Andreas Vamis of El Cerrito. Republicans: Leo Sorenson of Moraga, Charles V. Hughes of Oakland, Claude B. Hutchison Jr. of Lafayette, Mary True Lindblad of Pleasant Hill.

Redistricting was kind to Berkeley's Ron Dellums. In days of old, he would have had to worry about a potential opponent named Claude B. Hutchison. The late Claude B. Hutchison was mayor of Berkeley and vice president of the University of California. But that is no longer a magic name in Berkeley, and the mayor's descendant may not even win the GOP primary.

District 9 (60%D-28%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Pete Stark of Oakland, John O'Connell of Castro Valley. Republicans: Roger Williams of Castro Valley, Bill Kennedy of Pleasanton. Peace and Freedom: Albert Sargis of Oakland.

Kennedy gave Stark a surprisingly tight race two years ago and never stopped running. Stark will have to work hard this year to keep his seat despite the overwhelming Democratic registration advantage.

District 10 (60%D-26%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Don Edwards of San Jose. Republican: Robert P. Herriott of Milpitas. American Independent: Edmon V. Kaiser of Fremont. Delegation chairman Edwards always wins easily. This should be no exception, although the GOP is high on Herriott, an airplane pilot and planning commissioner.

BURTON MARKS

District 11 (54%D-33%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Tom Lantos of Hillsborough. Republican: Bill Royer of Redwood City. Peace and Freedom: Wilson Branch of San Mateo. American Independent: Nicholas Kudrovzeff of Pacifica.

In November, this will be a dandy rematch. Lantos unseated Royer two years ago, and Royer still doesn't believe that it was fair and square. (He blames voting-machine foulups for his loss.) Lantos worked hard and may be tough to dislodge. The Democrats would have given him a better district had John Burton revealed his plans before the redistricting was completed.

District 12 (44%D-43%R) — Republican: Ed Zschau of Los Altos. Democrats: Emmett Lynch of Los Altos, Keith Raffel of Menlo Park. Libertarian: William White of Los Altos.

Zschau probably deserves the politician-of-the-year award. The district was left open by Pete McCloskey's decision to run for the Senate. Zschau put together such a powerful campaign that all other potential GOP candidates withdrew, leaving him a clear field. The Democrats don't have a chance against Zschau, who heads a Silicon Valley minicomputer storage-disc firm.

District 13 (52%-34%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Norm Mineta of San Jose. Republican: Tom Kelley of San Jose. Libertarian: Albert C. Hinkle of San Jose.

Mineta was tough before reapportionment. Now he's even safer with a more urban district.

District 14 (50%D-39%R) — Republican: Incumbent Norm Shumway of Stockton.

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Democrats: Bill Steele of North San Juan, Baron Reed of Roseville, Jon Colburn of Jackson, Hugh Sanborn of Lodi, Tim Leree of Citrus Heights.

Shumway's district was shifted into the foothills. It is theoretically better for a Republican than his old valley-based constituency. But Shumway is a straight-laced Mormon who might find the saloon politics of the gold country a little hard to handle. Reed is the former mayor of Roseville with good political connections.

District 15 (58%D-33%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Tony Coelho of Hilmar. Republican: Edward B. Bates of Madera. Libertarian: Steve Gerringer of Turlock.

Coelho used to be considered safe, but he has suffered greatly from a letter he wrote on behalf of a convicted criminal. His November opponent will be Bates, the former sheriff of Madera County. The Republicans may throw a bundle into the race. Coelho is a political pro who won't make any more mistakes and he will probably be rated the favorite.

District 16 (50%D-34%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Leon Panetta of Carmel Valley. Republican: Anne G. Nixon Ball of Pebble Beach

Panetta is considered one of the most capable members of Congress, and his constituents apparently realize it. He comes home just about every weekend, and his wife takes care of district problems during the week.

District 17 (54%D-37%R) — Republican: Incumbent Charles (Chip) Pashayan of Fresno. Democrat: Gene Tackett of Delano.

Pashayan may have to fight for his life this year if the Democrats manage to mount a full-scale campaign behind Tackett, a Kern County supervisor.

District 18 (61%D-30%R) — Democrat: Rick Lehman of Fresno. Republican: Adrian Fondse of Ripon.

This is a clear-cut choice in an open district, which was created for Lehman. The Republicans are going to spend a load behind Fondse, who came within a recount of winning an Assembly seat two years ago. With the registration and Lehman's political skills, he has the early advantage. But reapportionment resentment could hurt him a great deal.

House special: June consolidation

Governor Brown has consolidated a special election in the 30th Congressional District with the June 8th primary. The seat was vacated by Democrat George Danielson, who is now a justice of the state Court of Appeal. Should no candidate win a majority of the votes in the June special election, a runoff would be held on July 13th.

Most Democratic leaders are backing Assemblyman Marty Martinez of Monterey Park to succeed Danielson. A victory in the special election would give Martinez an advantage in the November election, when he figures to clash with incumbent Republican John Rousselot, who has been reapportioned out of a Republican district.

District 19 (49%D-37%R) — Republican: Incumbent Robert J. Lagomarsino of Ventura. Democrat: Frank Frost of Santa Barbara. Libertarian: R. C. Gordon-McCutchan of Santa Barbara.

Lagomarsino always wins with ease. His Democratic opponent is a professor who once served on the Santa Barbara board of supervisors.

District 20 (47%D-42%R) — Republican: Incumbent Bill Thomas of Bakersfield. Democrat: Robert J. Bethea of Bakersfield.

Bill Thomas ought to have another restful campaign.

District 21 (43%D-46%R) — Incumbent Bobbi Fiedler of Northridge, Herb Cruse of Oxnard. Democrats: Robert E. Cochran of Thousand Oaks, George Margolis of Simi Valley, George Webb of Thousand Oaks.

Fiedler is taking over territory from Barry Goldwater Jr. and her only problem is territorial jealousy. She's from the San Fernando Valley, and a large hunk of the district is in Ventura County.

District 22 (37%D-55%R) — Republican: Incumbent Carlos Moorhead of Glendale. Democrat: Harvey Goldhammer of La Crescenta. Libertarian: Robert T. Gerringer of Pasadena.

Moorhead is as good as re-elected.

District 23 (57%D-33%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Anthony Beilenson of Beverly Hills. Republicans: David Armor of Tarzana, Jeff Greene of Bel Air, Stephen Fox of Encino, Robert Winkler of Reseda. Libertarian: Robert Baldwin of Sherman Oaks.

Beilenson was moved further into the anti-busing territory of the San Fernando Valley. Will Armor, who is associated with the anti-busing forces, be able to use the issue to win the primary and give Beilenson fits in November? Greene is a millionaire.

District 24 (58%D-29%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Henry Waxman of Los Angeles. Republicans: Roland Cayard, Cindy Cameron, Nick Medvid and Jerry Zerg of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Jeff Mandel of Los Angeles.

Waxman is a power in Washington, and he will become stronger after some of his political buddies join him in the House.

District 25 (69%D-21%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Ed Roybal of Los Angeles, Robert Torres of El Monte. Republican: Daniel J. Gorham of Los Angeles.

Roybal apparently can stay as long as he likes.

District 26 (60%D-31%R) — Democrats: Howard L. Berman of Los Angeles, Barry Gorelich of Marina del Rey. Republicans: Howard Felsher of Sherman Oaks, Hal Phillips of Burbank.

This district was created for Berman. Dick Spengler, a well-known television personality, might have been a rather strong GOP opponent, but he failed to qualify.

District 27 (56%D-31%R) — Democrat: Mel Levine of Santa Monica. Republicans: Bob Ryan of Rancho Palos Verdes, Bart Christensen of Santa Monica. Libertarian: Zack Richardson of Los Angeles.

Assemblyman Levine is the favorite in November. Ryan, a councilman, is known in the GOP part of the district.

District 28 (74%D-18%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Julian Dixon of Los Angeles, Manuel Talley of Los Angeles. Republican: David Goerz of Los Angeles. Libertarian: David Meleney of Los Angeles.

Dixon has one of the state's most solid seats.

District 29 (79%D-16%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Gus Hawkins of Los Angeles. Republicans: Bill Greene and Milton Mackaig of Downey.

Hawkins has more action this year than usual. The only question is whether voters will confuse opponent Greene with Democratic state Senator Bill Greene.

MARTINEZ

ROUSSELOT

District 30 (63%D-29%R) — Republican: Incumbent John Rousselot of Arcadia. Democrats: Marty Martinez, Olga Moreno and Rose Ochi of Monterey Park, Dennis Kazarian of Montebello.

This district was formerly represented by Democrat George Danielson, who was given a judgeship. Theoretically, the district should be represented by a Democratic Latino. Assemblyman Martinez should be able to win the seat, but he faces a tough opponent in Rousselot, who lost his district in reapportionment. This will be one of the year's better contests.

District 31 (73%D-18%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Mervyn Dymally of Los Angeles, Craig Mitchell and Colin O'Brien, both of Gardena. Republican: Henry Minturn of Hawthorne.

Former Lieutenant Governor Dymally won this seat by ousting an incumbent two years ago. He'll make sure he is not victim of a similar fate.

District 32 (61%D-30%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Glenn Anderson of Harbor City, Richard Hallowell of Long Beach, Edd Tuttle of Long Beach. Republicans: Brian Lungren of Long Beach, John Adler of San Pedro. Peace and Freedom: Eugene Ruyle of Long Beach.

This could be a rough year for former Lieutenant Governor Glenn Anderson. First, he must fight off a challenge from Long Beach Councilman Tuttle. If he survives the primary, he probably will have to face Lungren, brother of a Republican congressman and aide to Supervisor Deane Dana. The district has a Democratic registration bulge but the party loyalty is suspect.

District 33 (46%D-45%R) — Republicans: Incumbents Wayne Grisham of La Mirada and David Dreier of Claremont. Democrats: Richard C. Spencer of Walnut, Paul Servelle of Whittier. Libertarian: Phillips B. Franklin of Ontario. Peace and Freedom: Albert Gonzales of Covina, James M. Noonan of Claremont.

Republican Jerry Lewis chose to run in the district earmarked for Dreier, forcing the latter to run against Grisham. Both are campaigning hard. Privately, the Republican high command is rooting for Dreier, who is young and intelli-

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gent. Grisham is more of an old-fashioned politician, and he may have more appeal to the Joe Sixpack type of voter.

District 34 (65%D-26%R) — Democrats: Jim Lloyd of West Covina, Esteban Torres of La Puente, Fred Anderson of Whittier. Republicans: Daniel K. Wong of Norwalk, Paul Jackson of Pico Rivera.

This new district is supposed to favor an Hispanic Democrat like Esteban Torres, formerly of the Carter White House and a power in the Los Angeles Hispanic community. But can he beat former Congressman Jim Lloyd, who lost his seat to Dreier in 1980? The Republicans would like a shot at Torres even though the district is heavily Democratic.

District 35 (44%D-44%R) — Republican: Incumbent Jerry Lewis of San Bernardino. Democrats: Robert E. Erwin of Chino, Robert (Sarge) Hall of Yermo.

Lewis chose to run in this San Bernardino district instead of the Riverside-based 27th, and all the heavyweights cleared the ring for him.

District 36 (58%D-30%R) — Democrats: Incumbent George Brown Jr. of Riverside, Jimmy Pineda of San Bernardino, Ronald Lee Hibble of Fontana. Republicans: Edward Vallen of Fontana, Scott Darling of Riverside, John Paul Stark of Riverside.

The lineup might indicate that veteran George Brown is in trouble. He didn't run very well in 1980, but he was aided by redistricting. Yet, the GOP may take a big-money shot against him. Darling and Stark are not being taken lightly by some Democrats in the district.

District 37 (47%D-43%R) — Republicans: Alfred A. McCandless of Palm Desert, Kenneth S. Calvert of Corona, Benjamin Franklin Davis of Canyon Lake, Mark Rocha of Corona, William Wiley of Riverside, Rodolfo H. Castro of Banning, Amos J. (Bud) Mathewson of Banning, John M. Vowles of Homeland, Dennis Mansfield of Rialto, Raymond P. Horspool of Yucaipa. Democrats: James W. Cost of Riverside, Curtis R. (Sam) Cross of Indio, Norman J. Davis of Beaumont, Jack L. Peters of Palm Desert, Jerry Hanson of Banning, Johnny Pearson of Lake Elsinore, James A. Toenjes of Palm Springs, Glenn A. Stull of Cherry Valley, David E. Skinner of Riverside. Libertarian: Marc Wruble of Anza.

Had Jerry Lewis run in this district, the field would have been mighty small. But when he shifted, the flood gates opened. In this large a field, who can tell what might happen? The favorite to win the GOP primary is veteran Riverside County Supervisor Al McCandless, who has the best name identification in the horde. The GOP primary is considered the whole ball game.

District 38 (52%D-35%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Jerry Patterson of Garden Grove. Republicans: Bill Dohr of Santa Ana, Art Jacobsen of Los Alamitos.

Patterson usually runs stronger than is usual for a Democrat in Orange County. But the GOP is out to change that this time around with a free-spending campaign on behalf of Dohr, head of the Orange County Lincoln Club.

District 39 (40%D-49%R) — Republican: Incumbent Bill Dannemeyer of Fullerton. Democrats: Steven Feldman of Anaheim, Frank Verges of Fullerton. Peace and Freedom: Frank Boeheim of Anaheim.

Dannemeyer has himself a piece of Republican rock.

LEHMAN FONDSE

District 40 (35%D-52%R) — Republican: Incumbent Robert Badham of Newport Beach. Democrat: Paul Haseman of Laguna Niguel. Peace and Freedom: Maxine Bell Quirk of Irvine.

The Orange County coast is solid Republican.

District 41 (42%D-42%R) — Republican: Incumbent Bill Lowery of San Diego. Democrat: Tony Brandenberg of Encinitas. Libertarian: Everett Hale of San Diego.

This is the kind of district that could go Democratic only with a tidal wave of anti-Reagan sentiment. It was made safe for Lowery under ordinary circumstances.

District 42 (43%D-46%R) — Republicans: Incumbent Dan Lungren of Long Beach, Tom Heinsheimer of Rolling Hills. Democrats: Martha Vazzana of Rolling Hills Estates, James P. Spellman of Long Beach. Peace and Freedom: John Donahoe of Long Beach.

This district was designed to be safe for Lungren, who will get more than the usual primary competition from Heinsheimer, a city councilman.

District 43 (34%D-52%R) — Republicans: Mary Schmitz of Corona del Mar, Charles G. Kenney of Mission Viejo, Elizabeth Davis of Laguna Niguel, Bob Curtis of San Clemente, Lawrene Nixon Anfinson of San Juan Capistrano, Robert DeCarlo of Capistrano Beach, Johnnie Crean of San Juan Capistrano, Jerry Shaw of Newport Beach, Thomas J. Mauro of Laguna Beach, Martin Kinkade of Rancho Santa Fe, Stan Legro of Rancho Santa Fe, Donald Blake Martinson of Oceanside, Bill McColl of Carlsbad, Ron Packard of Carlsbad, Jim Rady of Escondido, Art Sanders of Poway, Mike Schaefer of Oceanside, Debra Szekely of San Marcos. Democrats: Pat Archer of Escondido, Pete Powell of San Marcos, Ronald Mora of Mission Viejo.

Republican Clair Burgener could hardly have guessed that so many Republicans were waiting for him to retire. The primary is tantamount to victory for the GOP, and the field is full of interesting candidates. The most important factor is that San Diego County dominates the district, even though there are nine candidates from Orange and nine from San Diego. Candidates to watch include Schmitz, wife of state Senator John Schmitz; Anfinson, niece of Richard Nixon; Crean, who apparently has plenty of cash to spend; McColl, former football star; Packard, mayor of Carlsbad; Legro, who has an active campaign; Szekely, who is a well-known businesswoman; and Rady, who is an Escondido councilman and is known as Burgener's choice to win the seat.

District 44 (58%D-27%R) — Democrats: Jim Bates and Mike Aguirre of San Diego. Republicans: Shirley Gissendammer and Richard Gombas of San Diego. Libertarian: Jim Canale of San Diego.

The reapportionment experts carved this district so that it would include every possible loyal Democrat in San Diego. As a result, Supervisor Jim Bates should win the seat. Gissendammer is black and an aide to Congressman Duncan Hunter.

District 45 (44%D-41%R) — Republican: Incumbent Duncan Hunter of Coronado. Democrats: Monica E. Brown of El Cajon, Richard Hill of El Centro. Libertarian: Jack Sanders of San Diego.

Hunter pulled a major upset two years ago by defeating Democrat Lionel Van Deerlin. He was rewarded with a safe district.

State Senate: All Eyes on East LA

The major attraction in state Senate primary competition is taking place this year in East Los Angeles, where incumbent Democrat Alex Garcia is being challenged by Assemblyman Art Torres. Before the year is over there will be several other highly competitive races, but the primary season will be relatively quiet on the Senate front.

Torres is tackling Garcia because he claims the senator has been an embarrassment to the state's Hispanic community. On the other hand, Torres is being accused of being a divisive factor among Latinos. Most of the East Los Angeles heavyweights have lined up behind Torres, but Garcia is the beneficiary of some hard feelings against Torres for his part in helping to elect Willie Brown as speaker of the Assembly over Howard Berman.

Another interesting race is taking place in Orange County, where a genuine marginal was created. The district has a large Latino population and can be won in November by the nominee of either party.

Only even-numbered districts are up for grabs this year, and the Republicans have an 11-9 edge in odd-numbered holdover districts (assuming that the GOP holds the Orange County seat, abandoned by John Briggs, which is the subject of a special election this month). The Democratic-sponsored reapportionment plan will make it very difficult if not impossible for the Republicans to take control of the Senate this year. It may even be possible for the Democrats to improve their 23-17 majority by one or two seats.

District 2 (55%D-30%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Barry Keene of Elk. Republicans: Billy C. Maher Jr. of Vallejo, Floyd G. Sampson of Petaluma. Libertarian: Charles Garth of Eureka.

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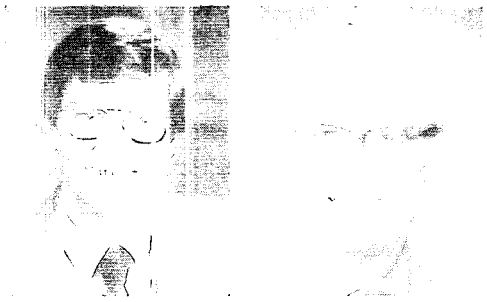
Potential candidates along the north coast had to keep alert this year with the possibility that Keene would be appointed to a judgeship and that Assemblyman Doug Bosco would seek higher office. With Keene seeking re-election, the Senate political pot has stopped boiling.

District 4 (52%D-36%R) — Republican: Incumbent Jim Nielsen of Woodland. Democrat: O.H. (Fifi) Zeff of Woodland. Libertariar : Robert J. Burnside of Davis.

Reapportionment gave Jim Nielsen a safer constituency, and Democrats will not make him a target.

District 6 (58%D-31%R) — Republican: Incumbent John Doolittle of Sacramento. Democrats: Leroy F. Greene, Carol Britto and John Newman, all of Sacramento. Peace and Freedom: Philip L. Sawyer of Sacramento.



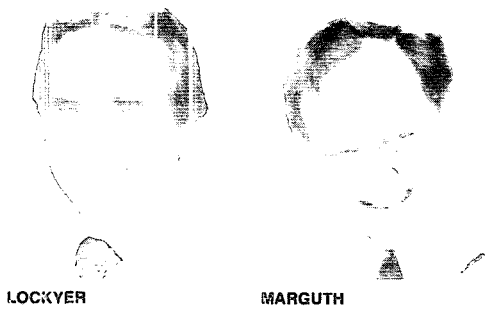
DOOLITTLE GREENE

In November, this will be one of the hottest races in the state, pitting conservative Republican Doolittle against veteran Assemblyman Greene in an area that has been traditionally Democratic.

District 8 (62%D-24%R) — Democrat: Incumbent John F. Foran of San Francisco. Republicar : Leanne Guth of San Francisco. Libertarian: Michael Mayakis of San Francisco.

As usual, Foran has come out of reapportionment with a beautiful district for himself.

District 10 (58%D-29%R) — Democrats: Bill Lockyer of San Leandro, William K. Sweeney of Fremont. Republican: Gib Marguth of Livermore.



LOCKYER MARGUTH

The appointment of incumbent John Holmdahl to the bench seemed to give Assemblyman Lockyer the seat on a platter. But Marguth, who had been redistricted out of his Assembly seat, decided to try for the Senate. This could be a hot one in November, even though Lockyer has a big early edge because of the voter registration.

District 12 (54%D-33%R) — Republican: Incumbent Dan O'Keefe of Campbell. Democrats: Dan McCorquodale and Richard Heggem of San Jose. Libertarian: James A. Wilson Jr. of Milpitas.

This was drafted as an open district that could be won by Assemblyman Alister McAlister. But McAlister chose not to run, and Senator Dan O'Keefe moved into the district in an effort to save his political career. (O'Keefe and Senator Marz Garcia were thrown into the same district, which was numbered so that both Republicans would be out of office after this election.) O'Keefe figures to face Santa Clara County Supervisor McCorquodale, who once ran for the Assembly in San Diego County, come November.

District 14 (54%D-36%R) — Republican: Incumbent Ken Maddy of Fresno.

GOP Caucus Chairman Ken Maddy has built himself a huge but impregnable fortress running from deep in the valley to the Pacific Ocean. No one has chosen to attempt to jump the moat this year.

District 16 (56%D-34%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Walter Stiern of Bakersfield. Republicans: Mary Ann Gutcher and J.F. Henry of Bakersfield.

Veteran Walter Stiern has always been much more popular than his party in Kern County. Now he has the added advantage of a district that extends into the black precincts of Pasadena.

District 18 (49%D-37%R) — Democrat: Gary Hart of Santa Barbara. Republicans: Charles Imbrecht of Ventura, Walter S. Barrows of Carpinteria. Libertarian: H. Bruce Driscoll of Woodland Hills.

The incumbent in this district is Democrat Omer Rains, who is running for attorney general. Two of the classiest members of the Legislature, Assemblymen Hart and Imbrecht, are running to succeed him in this environmentalist shoreline area. The loser will be missed in Sacramento.

District 20 (60%D-30%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Alan Robbins of Tarzana, Ted Dan August of Van Nuys, William Leventhal of Panorama City. Republicans: Christine M. Herzog of Northridge, Elton Michael of Los Angeles, Patrick O'Brien of North Hollywood. Peace and Freedom: William J. Hill III of Northridge. Libertarian: Melinda Pillsbury-Foster of Reseda.

Republicans were hoping that Alan Robbins would be weakened by his highly publicized trial on sex charges. But his acquittal apparently left him in good political position. None of the potential opponents appears to be packing enough wallop to unseat him.

District 22 (59%D-30%R) — Democrats: Herschel Rosenthal of North Hollywood, William J. Kurdi of Los Angeles. Republican: Earle Robinson of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Rene Herz Engel of Santa Monica. Libertarian: Phyllis Kaskus of Santa Monica.

The retirement of Democrat Alan Sieroty opened the gate of opportunity — but only for a moment. Assemblyman Herschel Rosenthal rushed through the gate and locked up virtually all of the key endorsements in the district literally overnight. Rosenthal should be an easy winner in November.

District 24 (68%D-22%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Alex Garcia and Art Torres, both of Los Angeles. Republican: Keith Marsh of Highland Park. Libertarian: Stephen I. Malmberg of Los Angeles.

For many years, Alex Garcia has been almost an invisible member of the Legislature. Some Hispanic leaders attempted this year to convince him that he should retire and allow Assemblyman Art Torres to replace him. Garcia refused, and Torres decided to challenge him. Most of the East Los Angeles political leaders are with Torres. Garcia has incumbency and resentment against Torres from the Waxman-Berman political machine in his favor. The early favorite is Torres.

District 26 (65%D-27%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Joseph Montoya of Whittier. Republican: Eleanor K. Chow of Montebello.

Montoya should have an easy ride in November. Chow, a school board member, has run before.

District 28 (73%D-19%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Diane Edith Watson of Los Angeles. Republican: Oscar Wright of Los Angeles.

Watson is a representative of an endangered species in the Legislature — an unabashed liberal. Her re-election will help prevent the species from becoming extinct.

District 30 (68%D-22%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Ralph Dills of Gardena, Mickey L. Carson of Harbor City. Republican: Jack McMurray of Harbor City. Peace and Freedom: Judith Ann Tomlinson of Long Beach.

Dills, at 72, shows no signs of quitting. Nor do the voters appear tired of his representation.

District 32 (51%D-36%R) — Democrats: Frank P. Barbaro of Garden Grove, Kathy Buchoz of Westminster, Alfred C. Serrato of Santa Ana, Robert J. Slade of Garden Grove, J. Tilman Williams of Garden Grove. Republicans: Gordon Bricken of Santa Ana, Edward R. Royce of Anaheim, Raoul Silva of Santa Ana, Dewey L. Wiles of Midway City.

Had Democrat Richard Robinson run for this seat in Orange County, it would have gone to him relatively uncontested. But with Robinson running for the Assembly, the flood gates

Seymour for Briggs?

Mayor John Seymour of Anaheim is a heavy favorite to win the April 13th special election to fill the state Senate vacancy caused by the resignation of Republican John Briggs. Seymour, a Republican, had so much general support in Orange County's 35th District that no Democrat filed to contest the seat.

The election is being conducted under the 1980 district lines — the ones in effect when Briggs won a four-year term. Should no candidate win a majority of the votes on April 13th, a runoff election will be conducted on May 11th.

In addition to Seymour, the candidates are Republicans William A. Dougherty of Villa Park and John G. Keller of La Habra, Libertarian Less Antman of Anaheim, and Independent Mark H. Foucher of Anaheim. This is the first time in many years that an independent has qualified for the ballot.

Republicans hold about a 50-40 registration advantage in the district.

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opened. (Although there were indications that the district was carved for Robinson, it turned out that he lives outside the district.) Either party can win the seat in November, and there is a substantial Hispanic population in the area. The Democrats include Barbaro, a long-time party activist; Buchoz, mayor of Westminster; Councilman Serrato, who figures to win Latino votes; and Councilman Williams, who is talking about a big-money campaign. The Republican establishment is backing Bricken, a councilman, but there will be conservative support for Silva, a leader in the anti-abortion movement and the candidate against Assemblyman Robinson two years ago. With this large a field, handicapping is extremely difficult.

District 34 (57%D-32%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Ruben Ayala of Chino. Republican: Dean L. Kurtz of Ontario.

With Peripheral Canal legislation to his credit, Ayala should be safer than ever this year.

District 36 (50%D-38%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Robert Presley of Riverside.

Registration figures would indicate that this is a ripe prospect for the GOP. But Presley is a conservative Democrat with few enemies — and an apparent free ride this year.

District 38 (38%D-46%R) — Republican: William A. Craven of Oceanside. Democrat: Daniel Kripke of La Jolla. Libertarian: Richard J. Rider of San Diego.

Craven has the safest Republican district of the 20 on the ballot this year.

District 40 (56%D-29%R) — Democrats: Wadie P. Deddeh of Bonita, Lois Bodle of Chula Vista. Republicans: Muriel C. Watson of Bonita.

Veteran Democrat James R. Mills decided to leave the Senate after losing his leadership post. But the Democrats will hold the seat behind veteran Assemblyman Deddeh, a former teacher who could give lessons on how to keep a constituency happy..

Assembly: a hot June forecast

This may be one election year in which the voters make more key Assembly decisions in June than in November. With a score of incumbents not seeking re-election, numerous party primaries take on added importance, especially in those areas where nomination in June is tantamount to election in November. Some of the hottest battles of the year are now under way on the west side of Los Angeles and in a few districts newly created during reapportionment. The preliminary outlook for November is a slight gain for the Republicans from the 49-31 current Democratic advantage.

Relatively few incumbents appear in trouble in June. Two pairs of Republicans were placed in the same districts by redistricting, and one of the most watched races in the state will be the contest between Marilyn Ryan and Gerald Felando along the Los Angeles coast.

Democratic incumbent Alister McAlister may have become vulnerable by playing a musical homes game. For many years, he listed himself as a resident of San Jose. Then he sought a judgeship in Placer County and said he lived there. After failing to get the judgeship, he announced that he was a resident of Fremont. Now he faces a test in the Democratic primary. Ironically, he probably will not be targeted by Republicans if he survives the primary because he votes like a member of the GOP caucus.

District 1 (52%D-37%R) — Republican: Incumbent Stan Statham of Oak Run. Democrat: Paul B. Drake of Westwood. Peace and Freedom: David P. Misso of Tulelake.

Statham's district was improved for him even though he didn't need the help, at least this year.

District 2 (53%D-31%R) — Democrats: Scott Keene of Bodega Bay, Dan Hauser of Arcata. Republicans: Jerry Partain of Arcata, Beverly A. Homan of Sebastopol, Wayne Bass of Santa Rosa. Libertarian: Leota L. Gould of Redwood Valley.

This district became a question mark when incumbent Democrat Doug Bosco elected to run for Congress. The Democrats are Keene, brother of state Senator Barry Keene, and Hauser, the mayor of Arcata. Partain is a professor at Humboldt State University.

District 3 (48%D-40%R) — Republican: Incumbent Wally Herger of Rio Oso. Democrat: Larry Miles of Yuba City.

Reapportionment was beneficial to Herger. Otherwise, he would have to worry. Miles is a young attorney with more than the average amount of political savvy.

District 4 (58%D-28%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Thomas Hannigan of Fairfield. Republican: Rudy Manfredi of Fairfield. Peace and Freedom: Raymond King MacKenzie of Davis.

Hannigan's district was changed significantly by redistricting, but he will not be adversely affected.

District 5 (53%D-34%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Jean M. Moorhead of Sacramento. Republican: Peggy Ann Grenz of Fair Oaks. Libertarian: Eric Phelps of Sacramento.

Moorhead won her seat as a Republican, then switched parties. The GOP is out for revenge, and the opponent is Grenz, a former Moorhead backer.

District 6 (57%D-32%R) — Democrats: Ivaldo Lenci, Lloyd G. Connelly and Spencer D. Haag, all of Sacramento; Richard Will of Rancho Cordova. Republicans: Wilbur S. Green and Stan Nielsen of Carmichael, David Lucchesi of Sacramento. Peace and Freedom: Candace Dorn of Rancho Cordova.

The candidate parade formed with the announcement that veteran Senator Leroy Greene was running for the Senate. The Republicans lost a strong candidate in Supervisor Sandra Smoley, who entered and then withdrew. Green is the running mate of state Senator John Doolittle, backed by the New Right organization of Senator H.L. Richardson. The Democratic field is headed by Councilman Connelly of Sacramento, the favorite to win in November.

District 7 (53%D-35%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Norman Waters of Plymouth, Joseph Baker of Sacramento. Republican: Steven Clifford Bailey of Diamond Springs.

Waters seems to win handily in this foothill district, but the GOP may target him in November if young political pro Bailey appears to have a shot at an upset.

District 8 (51%D-38%R) Republican: Incumbent Don Sebastiani of Sonoma. Democrat: Louis J. Gentile of Napa.

Even without favorable changes in the district, Sebastiani would have been a cinch to win a second term.

District 9 (48%D-39%R) — Republican: Incumbent William Filante of Greenbrae. Democrat: Paul C. Chignell of San Anselmo.

This Marin County-based district was not changed, and it is a longshot for a Democrat. Chignell is a leader in the San Francisco police officers association.

BATES

McALISTER

District 10 (58%D-31%R) — Democrat: Phil Isenberg of Sacramento. Republicans: Ingrid Azvedo of Elk Grove, Richard Woolstrum of Acampo, Carl Burton of Lodi, Walter W. Powers of North Sacramento and William J. Cecil, Aggie James, Louis Invernon, all of Sacramento.

Without the presence of an incumbent in this nominally Democratic district, Mayor Isenberg of Sacramento must be rated the early favorite. But Republicans have come out of the woodwork to take a shot at him in this wishbone-shaped delta district. The GOP primary could be a wild scramble. The best-known name in the pack is Powers, a former Democratic assemblyman. James is a former legislative employee with good connections; Azvedo has toiled for the party for many years; Cecil ran two years ago.

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District 11 (65%D-24%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Robert J. Campbell of Richmond. American Independent: Joe Garner of Richmond. Libertarian: Adam M. LaZare of Pinole.

The district is Campbell's, even if there were a GOP opponent.

District 12 (59%D-25%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Tom Bates and Thomas B. Dove of Oakland. Republicans: Harry Bergordy of Albany, Walter Fisher of Berkeley, Gerti Thomas of Albany, Jacob Weintraub of Berkeley. Peace and Freedom: Emma Mar of Oakland.

Some of the action in this district may have been prompted by indications by Bates that he might seek higher office. The district was improved for him, and he should win another term if he survives the primary. Dove is a deputy attorney general who could make Bates work in the primary

District 13 (69%D-18%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Elihu Harris of Oakland.

This is one of the few genuine liberal districts left in the state.

District 14 (63%D-25%R) — Democrats: Johan Klehs of San Leandro, George Glavor of San Leandro, Ted Jarvis of Hayward. Republicans: Bruce Bergondy and Ann H. Duncan of Hayward.

With incumbent Democrat Bill Lockyer running for the Senate, look for the winner of the Democratic primary to replace him. Klehs, a member of the San Leandro council, and Jarvis, a community college board member, figure to run strong races. Duncan is also a member of the Chabot College Board.

District 15 (39%D-49%R) — Republican: Incumbent William P. Baker of Danville. Democrat: Margaret Kovar of Walnut Creek.

Eastbay Republicans were packed into this district, eliminating any doubt about the outcome. In previous years, the east Contra Costa seat shifted between the parties, depending on the personalities of the candidates.

District 16 (64%D-16%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Art Agnos of San Francisco. Republican: Gary Myerscough of San Francisco. Libertarian: Ludwig Vogel of San Francisco.

Agnos, as usual, can run a perfunctory campaign and be a big winner.

District 17 (58%D-22%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Willie L. Brown Jr. Republicans: Thomas Crary, Del Dawson. Libertarian: Bonnie Hoy. Peace and Freedom: Michael Zaharahis. All are from San Francisco.

Would Speaker Willie Brown give himself anything but a circ ch district?

District 18 (57%D-29%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Alister McAlister, Anthony Chavez and Dorcas Morrison of Fremont, Peter McHugh of Milpitas. Republican: Michael L. Thompson of San Jose. Libertarian: John Webster of San Jose.

How much has McAlister hurt himself by trying to get a judgeship in Placer County and then by returning "home" to seek re-election? He'll be tested in the primary by Mayor Primo McHugh of Milpitas.

District 19 (62%D-24%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Louis J. Papan of Millbrae. Republican: Les Kelting of San Bruno.

Papan was a GOP target two years ago. This year, aided by the addition of a piece of San Francisco to the district, he won't have to work very hard. Kelting will run a loud campaign, however.

District 20 (45%D-43%R) — Republican: Incumbent Robert W. Naylor of Menlo Park. Democrat: Jack Smith of San Mateo. American Independent: David Castronovo of Belmont. Libertarian: Donald Smith of Redwood City.

Republican leader Bob Naylor is one of the sharpest members of the Legislature, and he has a safe enough district so he can concentrate on affairs of state.

District 21 (51%D-32%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Byron Sher of Palo Alto. Republican: William Parkinson of Palo Alto. Libertarian: Russell Fridley of Palo Alto. Peace and Freedom: Frank DeSio of Redwood City.

Although the registration is underwhelming for a Democrat, Sher appears to be the ideal representative for the Stanford constituency.

RYAN FELANDO

District 22 (43%D-44%R) — Republican: Incumbent Ernest Konnyu of Saratoga. Libertarian: Jeffrey Smith of San Jose.

Konnyu won with surprising ease two years ago. He was rewarded with a dandy GOP district and no Democratic opponent.

District 23 (60%D-25%R) — Democrat: Incumbent John Vasconcellos of Santa Clara. Republican: Pat Fowler of San Jose. Libertarian: Ann L. Justi of Santa Clara.

The Republicans took a shot at Ways and Means Chairman Vasconcellos in 1980 — and missed. They won't even aim the heavy artillery at Vasco this year.

District 24 (55%D-32%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Dominic L. Cortese of San Jose. Republicans: Barrie Laing, Dannie Miranda and Jack Sandoval of San Jose.

Cortese gave up some GOP territory and is safer this second time around.

District 25 (55%D-34%R) — Republicans: R. Edwin Norris of Salinas, Andrew Diaz of San Martin. Democrats: Rusty Areias of Los Banos, Timothy McCarthy of Salinas, Joe Sveinsson of Gonzales, Jerry Estruth of San Jose, Robert Infelise of Gilroy. Libertarian: Mark Hinkle of San Jose.

This new district is one of the most difficult in the state to assess. It could go to either party in November, and it is heavily agricultural and Latino. Former Monterey County Supervisor Norris is the early GOP favorite. Estruth, a San Jose councilman, will be a strong contender, but it is difficult to figure whether San Jose or Salinas voters will hold the balance of power. If the Hispanic vote is substantial, it could change the complexion of the race.

District 26 (58%D-33%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Patrick Johnston of Stockton. Republicans: Douglas Carter and Leonard Smith of Stockton. Libertarian: Deborah Horner of Stockton.

Johnston won the seat two years ago in a recount. He did not draw the toughest of opponents for round two. Carter formerly held the seat, but he has developed a reputation as a flake in his many subsequent campaigns. Smith will be the GOP organizational candidate.

District 27 (56%D-35%R) — Democrat: Gary Condit of Ceres.

Democrat John Thurman decided not to seek re-election, and only one candidate materialized. Condit, a Stanislaus County supervisor, rates as the November favorite, presumably against GOP write-in candidate Kate Nygart of Modesto, sister of George ("Star Wars") Lucas.

District 28 (50%D-32%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Sam Farr of Carmel. Republican: James Cost of Pebble Beach.

Santa Cruz has become a liberal stronghold, and Farr should run ahead of the deceptive party registration. Cost is a wealthy artist.

District 29 (44%D-44%R) — Republican: Carl Eric Seastrand of Salinas. Democrats: Beverly Brian of Santa Margarita and Kurt Kupper of San Luis Obispo.

With incumbent Republican Carol Hallett seeking statewide office, the way was finally made clear for Seastrand to get elected to something. He lost two previous tough races, the last one two years ago for the state Senate.

District 30 (63%D-28%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Jim Costa of Fresno.

This will be one quiet part of the Fresno region this election year.

District 31 (60%D-31%R) — Republicans: Robert C. Lung and Joanne Taul Slinkard of Fresno. Democrats: Donna McKittrick of Reedley and Bruce Bronzan of Fresno. Libertarian: James B. Johnson of Fresno.

Incumbent Democrat Rick Lehman is running for Congress, and both parties feel they can win this seat. The leading contenders are Bronzan, a Fresno county supervisor, and Slinkard, aide to state Senator Ken Maddy. The registration may look Democratic, but Slinkard already has lined up some potent Democratic backers for November.

District 32 (48%D-43%R) — Democrat: Clyde R. Gould of Exeter. Republicans: Rory Bryan of Fresno, William Jones of Fresno, Gene Rubey of Visalia.

Veteran Republican Gordon Duffy is running for a statewide office. His old district might have given a Democrat an advantage, but this is one instance in which redistricting helped the GOP. Gould cannot be taken lightly. He has been chairman of the Tulare County board of supervisors. Jones has run before and has good GOP connections.

District 33 (60%D-33%R) — Republican: Incumbent Don Rogers of Bakersfield. Democrats: Sherman Tyler Jr. and John M. Means of Bakersfield.

Rogers' problem is the adverse changes made in his district. Means is a liberal Bakersfield city councilman, and it remains to be seen how potent a campaign he or any other Democrat can muster.

District 34 (47%D-42%R) — Republican: Incumbent Phillip D. Wyman of Tehachapi.

In weakening Rogers' hold on the 33rd district,

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the Democratic mapmakers gave Wyman a rock-solid fortress.

District 35 (50%D-34%R) — Republicans: Brooks Firestone of Santa Barbara, Evelyn Kilbourne of Carpinteria. Democrat: Jack O'Connell of Carpinteria.

With Gary Hart running for the Senate, the Democrats failed to come up with a dynamite candidate to replace him — especially in the face of a magic name on the Republican side. Firestone is favored to go all the way in this marginal district. O'Connell is a former teacher and aide to state Senator Omer Rains.

District 36 (44%D-44%R) — Republicans: Tsujio Kato of Oxnard, Tom McClintock of Thousand Oaks. Democrats: Harriet Kosmo Henson and Barbara Garcia-Weed of Ventura.

This district, now represented by Senate-candidate Charles Imbrecht, has a definite GOP flavor. Kato is the mayor of Oxnard, and he is in the best position, but Henson is the mayor of Ventura and also has good name identification in the district. McClintock has backing from state Senator Ed Davis and could surprise.

District 37 (45%D-44%R) — Republican: Incumbent Cathie Wright of Simi Valley. Democrats: Dick Stine of Lancaster, Perry LeMaster of Newhall. Libertarian: Susan R. Downes of Canyon Country.

This "condor" district is safe for Wright.

District 38 (47%D-44%R) — Republican: Incumbent Marian W. La Follette of Woodland Hills. Democrat: Steven Afriat of Canoga Park. Libertarian: Terry Blake Stevenson of Sylmar.

La Follette was forced by reapportionment to move from Malibu to the San Fernando Valley. On paper, she should be safe in November. But Afriat came close to beating her two years ago and never stopped running. He could pull an upset.

District 39 (60%D-30%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Richard Katz of Sepulveda. Republicans: Lynn Davis and Joseph Toth of Granada Hills. Peace and Freedom: B.J. Rose of Arleta.

Before redistricting, Katz was in good shape. Now, he'll be safer.

District 40 (59%D-31%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Tom Bane of Tarzana. Republican: Marvin Shinkman of Van Nuys. Peace and Freedom: Fred Greenstein of Panorama City.

Bane's re-election has become automatic in recent years.

District 41 (41%D-51%R) — Republican: Incumbent Pat Nolan of Glendale.

Republicans Pat Nolan and Bill Ivers were thrown into the same district, and the territorial advantage went to Nolan. Republican leaders urged Ivers to run for the state Board of Equalization to avoid an intra-party fight. Democrats have no chance in this district, as evidenced by the interest.

District 42 (39%D-52%R) — Republican: Incumbent Richard Mountjoy of Monrovia. Democrat: Jo Smith of San Gabriel.

Mountjoy will concentrate on assisting fellow Republicans this year.

District 43 (57%D-34%R) — Democrat: Gray Davis of Los Angeles. Republicans: James Slosson and Ray Jan Sollenberger of Sherman Oaks, Rod Walsh of Woodland Hills.

With Howard Berman running for Congress, the bank vaults opened to provide funds for an outrageously expensive primary between Gray Davis, former chief of staff to Governor Brown, and Conway Collis, long-time political activist. The Berman forces pushed Collis into a race for the Board of Equalization. Davis now has the seat almost guaranteed.

District 44 (57%D-31%R) — Democrats: Alan Katz and Steve Saltzman of Los Angeles, Tom Hayden and Leo J. McGuire of Santa Monica. Republicans: Richard Bock and Bill Hawkins of Santa Monica, Shirley Waldman of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Jack Hampton of Santa Monica. Libertarian: Edward Wolford of Los Angeles.

This will be one of the most highly publicized legislative races in America because of the presence of Tom Hayden in the field. Katz and Saltzman have emerged as major opponents for Hayden. The question is whether they will divide the anti-Hayden vote sufficiently to allow him to win the primary and thus have a great shot at the election in November. The seat is being abandoned by Democrat Mel Levine, who is headed for Congress.

District 45 (60%D-28%R) — Democrats: Wallace Albertson, Seymour Rosen and Roy Ulrich, all of Los Angeles; Burt Margolin and Greg Roberts of North Hollywood. Republicans: Henry Hill, Irv Rubin and Sonia McIntosh of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Margaret Feigin of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Ted Brown of Hollywood.

With incumbent Herschel Rosenthal running for the Senate, a paper blizzard developed among potential successors filing for the seat. Burt Margolin has a major advantage — support of the Berman-Waxman organization. But there are other well-connected candidates in the race, including Wallace Albertson, former president of the California Democratic Council. The Republicans are intrigued with the possibility that Rubin, an activist in the Jewish community, might be able to make a good showing in November if he should be the party nominee.

District 46 (56%D-30%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Mike Roos. Republican: Harold P. Collins. Libertarian: Charles Tate. All are from Los Angeles.

Roos should have his usual easy ride.

District 47 (82%D-10%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Teresa P. Hughes. Republicans: Gregory Dahlin, Johnnie Neely. All are from Los Angeles.

Hughes has the district with the smallest GOP percentage in the state.

District 48 (83%D-11%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Maxine Waters of Los Angeles.

Waters keeps waiting for a congressional district.

District 49 (72%D-19%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Gwen Moore of Los Angeles. Republican: Jordan Daniels Jr. of Los Angeles.

Moore retains a safe constituency.

District 50 (75%D-17%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Curtis Tucker of Inglewood. Republican: Arthur Thomas of Inglewood. Libertarian: Steve Kelley of El Segundo.

The Los Angeles airport district is solidly Democratic.

District 51 (43%R-46%D) — Republicans: Incumbents Marilyn Ryan of Rancho Palos Verdes and Gerald N. Felando of San Pedro. Democrat: Peter Helfer of Manhattan Beach. Libertarian: G. Samuel Treynor of Manhattan Beach.

This figures to be one of the hottest primaries in the state, pitting two Republican incumbents against each other. Most of the territory belongs to Ryan, but Felando has a reputation as a rough-and-tumble campaigner. Ryan is one of the more liberal members of the GOP caucus, and she is considered the early favorite.

District 52 (48%D-44%R) — Republicans: Ronald Foerstel of Diamond Bar, Art Robinson of La Mirada; Frank Hill, Florence Richards and Barbara Shell Stone of Whittier. Democrats: Michael Reza of Hacienda Heights, Rose Marie Romero of Whittier.

With Dave Stirling running for attorney general, a golden opportunity developed for Republicans in the Whittier area. Stone is the daughter of former GOP Assemblyman Joe Shell. Hill expects to have a well-financed campaign.

District 53 (64%-26%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Richard E. Floyd of Hawthorne. Republicans: David Caldwell of Torrance, Walter Mueller of Carson.

Freshman Floyd has turned out to be a much more colorful legislator than his old boss, Senator Ralph Dills. His district is safely Democratic.

District 54 (68%D-25%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Frank Vicencia of Bellflower. Republican: Janice Lynch of Lakewood. Peace and Freedom: Randy Turner of Lakewood.

Vicencia's district has moved a bit but it is still Democratic. Vicencia might have to work harder than usual in November.

District 55 (68%D-22%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Richard Alatorre of Los Angeles. Republican: Frank Ricchiazzi of Los Angeles.

This will be the quiet district in East Los Angeles.

District 56 (78%D-13%R) — Democrats: Gloria Molina and Richard Polanco of Los Angeles. Republican: Donald Hyde of Los Angeles.

Incumbent Art Torres is running for the state Senate, and the Hispanic community is divided on his successor. Molina and Polanco both have excellent political connections.

District 57 (65%D-25%R) — Democrat: Incumbent David Elder of Long Beach. Republican: LaNor Pat West of Long Beach. Peace and Freedom: Lee Chauser of Long Beach.

Elder has the best Democratic precincts in Long Beach.

District 58 (47%D-42%R) — Republican: Incumbent Dennis Brown of Signal Hill. Democrat: Patricia Springer of Long Beach. Peace and Freedom: Paul Haak of Long Beach.

Brown's district was moved into Orange County and thus improved greatly for him.

District 59 (65%D-26%R) — Democrats: Charles Calderon and Richard Tafoya of Montebello; Louise Davis and Monty Manibog of Monterey Park, Richard Roman of Whittier. Republican: Bill Orozco of Alhambra. Libertarian: Marty Swinney of Pico Rivera.

Incumbent Marty Martinez is running for Congress, precipitating another primary battle within the Hispanic community. Several of the candidates have local-election experience, and Mayor Louise Davis has good early name identification. Manibog and Tafoya are city

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council members. Duffy has worked for state Senator Joe Montoya. The Republicans have a well-known candidate in Orozco.

District 60 (64%D-27%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Sally Tanner of El Monte, Hector Varela of La Puente. Republican: Elizabeth Van Note of El Monte. Libertarian: David Carl Argall of La Puente.

Tanner must always worry about a potential challenge from a candidate with a strong following in the Hispanic community. She has won before without much difficulty.

District 61 (42%D-47%R) — Republican: Incumbent Bill Leonard of Loma Linda. Democrat: Gesa Maria Kearney of Grand Terrace.

Leonard is entrenched.

District 62 (46%D-45%R) — Republican: Incumbent Bil Lancaster of Covina. Democrat: Richard Santell of West Covina.

Lancaster has a safer district as a result of reapportionment.

District 63 (62%D-31%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Bruce Young of Cerritos, George Medina of Cerritos. Republican: Ed Nelson of Downey.

Young knows how to work these blue-collar precincts.

District 64 (43%D-46%R) — Republican: Incumbent Ross Johnson of La Habra.

Johnson toyed with the notion of running for another office, then retreated to the safety of re-election.

District 65 (54%D-35%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Jim Cramer of Ontario. Republican: Charles W. Bader of Pomona.

There is no action in June, but there will be a hot rematch in November between 1980 winner Cramer and Bader, former mayor of Pomona.

District 66 (59%D-30%R) — Democrats: Incumbent Terry Goggin of San Bernardino, Gerald Butler of Rialto.

The Republicans want to take a shot at Goggin with a write-in nominee.

District 67 (38%D-51%R) — Republican: Incumbent John Lewis of Orange. Democrat: Paul Broughton of Yorba Linda.

This is conservative Republican country.

District 68 (55%D-33%R) — Democrats: Manuel Arredondo of Coachella, Julius Corsini of Desert Hot Springs; Steve Clute, Maurice Roberson and Charles Tobin of Riverside. Republicans: Frank Burgess of Banning, John Stanton of Sunnymead, Judy Field, C. Bradford Reed and Ronald W. Starling of Riverside.

Incumbent Democrat Walter Ingalls chose not to seek re-election, creating a wide-open race in the wide-open expanse of Riverside County. The race includes Stanton, who ran a tough race for the Senate four years ago; Field, who has excellent connections in Riverside and the support of the GOP establishment, Tobin, a county staffer who has strong political ties, and Corsini, the mayor of Desert Hot Springs. The Democrats should have an edge in November but not a large one.

District 69 (41%D-45%R) — Republicans: Incumbent Nolan Frizzelle of Huntington Beach, David G. Sills of Irvine. Democrat: Bob Hanson of Costa Mesa.

The GOP primary is everything in this district, and Frizzelle may have his hands full with Sills, a member of the Irvine council. The district was changed somewhat by reapportionment.

District 70 (30%D-58%R) — Republican: Incumbent Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach. Democrat: Linda Westfall of Mission Viejo.

Look at the registration statistics, and you wonder why any Democrat bothers to run.

District 71 (51%D-37%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Chester Wray of Westminster. Republican: Doris Allen of Westminster. Libertarian: Charles Barr of Buena Park.

This looks like round three in the match between Wray and Allen. Wray won the first two rounds by slim margins.

District 72 (53%D-34%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Richard Robinson. Republicans: George Heaney and Richard Longshore of Santa Ana.

Robinson is one of the shrewder operators in the Assembly.

District 73 (46%D-44%R) — Republicans: Incumbent David G. Kelley of Idyllwild, Ted Cook of Lake Elsinore. Democrat: Julius Scher of Riverside.

Kelley has not had a rough race since his first, and his good fortune ought to continue in this desert district.

District 74 (35%D-51%R) — Republican: Incumbent Robert C. Frazee of Carlsbad.

Frazee was looking for a move up the political ladder, but an unopposed re-election campaign is a fine consolation prize.

District 75 (38%D-44%R) — Republicans: Brian Bilbray of Imperial Beach, Steven Kane of La Jolla, Joyce Mojonnier of Encinitas. Democrat: Richard L. Roe of Del Mar.

This new coastal district is groomed for a Republican, and there are three strong candidates in the GOP primary — Bilbray, mayor of Imperial Beach; Kane, attorney brother-in-law of Congressman Duncan Hunter; Mojonnier, a well-connected flower grower. Roe, former mayor of Del Mar, is an excellent candidate who needs a better district.

District 76 (37%D-49%R) — Republicans: Elmer M. Enstrom Jr. of Julian; Ronald L. Bittner, William R. Bradley and Arthur E. Dannell of Escondido. Democrat: Barbara E. Van de Water of San Diego.

This is a solid Republican constituency. Enstrom, a former U.S. magistrate, comes from the lightly populated end of the district. The likely winner will come from Escondido; Bittner is the mayor, Dannell a councilman.

District 77 (43%D-43%R) — Republican: Incumbent Larry Stirling of San Diego.

Stirling has a cinch district.

District 78 (47%D-36%R) — Democrats: Lucy Killea and Don Norris of San Diego. Republican: Jerry Baker of San Diego. Libertarian: Frederick Sands of San Diego.

Incumbent Democrat Larry Kapiloff hopes to get a judgeship, so he decided not to seek re-election. The district is theoretically marginal, and there is a surprisingly small field. Baker is a well-connected advertising executive, and Killea is a councilwoman with strong backing. Both parties will pour resources into the district in November.

District 79 (60%D-26%R) — Democrat: Incumbent Peter Chacon of San Diego. Republican: Gary Gahn of San Diego.

This is the only solidly Democratic seat in San Diego County.

District 80 (54%D-33%R) — Democrats: Fernando Sanga of Brawley; Jerry Griffith, John Harris, Marilyn Lassman, Steven Palma and Stephen Peace of Chula Vista. Republicans: Lorraine Green of San Diego, Gerald Moore of El Centro; Gerald Myres, Don Perry and Norman Ross of Chula Vista.

Veteran Democrat Wadie Deddeh is headed for the Senate, and candidates by the bunches are trying to win his marginal border-district seat. Peace is a former aide to Assemblyman Larry Kapiloff. Sanga could raise plenty of money and build support in the Hispanic community. Both primaries figure to be won by the most skillful campaigners, because none starts with excellent name identification throughout the district.

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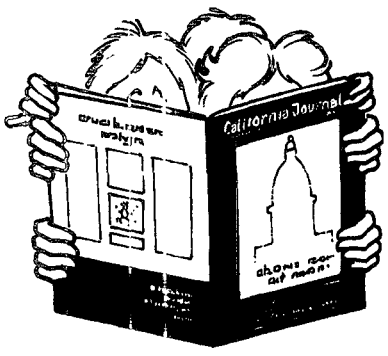

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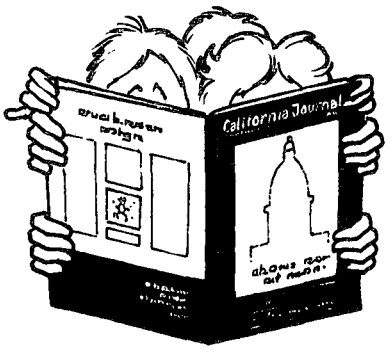

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Dance of the Democrats: the West Side $huffle

By MICHELE WILLENS

Political strategist Michael Berman has called it the most affluent suburb west of Saudi Arabia. The average house sells at about a quarter-million dollars; many are valued well into the millions.

It is the West Side of Los Angeles, including Malibu, Santa Monica, Beverly Hills, Westwood and others. It is also where many important political careers have been made — starting, of course, with Ronald Reagan who comes from its Pacific Palisades. Other current and recent representatives include Alan Sieroty, Anthony Beilenson, Robert Dornan, Howard Berman, Mel Levine, Henry Waxman. All are politicians who tend to garner attention, make their marks, move onward.

In addition to its wealth, the West Side of Los Angeles is distinguished by substantial numbers of Jewish voters whose numbers are augmented in significance by the fact they get to polls more regularly than most groups. Obviously it helps a West Side candidate to be Jewish or, at the very least, strong on Israel. ("I'm Jewish by osmosis," pleads candidate Wally Albertson, for example.)

Finally, it is a heavily Democratic area, especially with the new redistricting lines of 1982. Six key seats on the West Side are up for grabs this year, and all are considered Democratic strongholds. That means the real political action takes place between now and June.

That action might be called the West Side Shuffle, a dance of Democrats not too hard to learn. You raise a record (some refer to it as obscene) number of dollars; you get out the *yarmulke;* you bombard the folks with famous names; you squeeze Michael Berman tight. When the music stops, you hope it is someone else left standing without a seat.

Democratic activists in the area cannot recall a year in which so much money-raising, negotiating and just plain groveling were going on so early. Every potential candidate for the Big Six had his or hers eyes on at least two races at once. During the month of January, there was at least one fund-raising dinner for a West Side candidate every week. Often the cast of assembled characters was the same: I'll come to yours if you'll come to mine.

One man who attended several of the dinners voted Henry Waxman's "the most boring in memory." He based that on the night's speakers who included Waxman, Howard Berman, Mel Levine and Herschel Rosenthal. That foursome of politicians may not be the most dynamic team on the circuit. But judging from the West Side Shuffling, they — along with their behind-the-scenes operator, Michael Berman — are more important than ever to candidates in the area. People like Gray Davis and Tom Hayden are among those reduced to pleading and heavy pressuring for their stamp of approval.

A year ago, the "Berman-Waxman machine," as critics call it, was wounded, broke and exhausted following its year-long campaign to get Howard Berman elected speaker of the state Assembly. Even though Berman lost the plum, the operation succeeded in rasing about $700,000 to get six of its choices elected to the Legislature. That was no small achievement in a heavily Republican year.

Now the team is back in fighting form. Michael Berman has left Waxman's staff, from which he usually worked on various campaigns, and has formed a consulting firm with Carl D'Agostino, a former Ken Cory aide and longtime Berman ally. What will be the key difference between what they used to do and what Berman-D'Agostino Campaigns will do? "We won't be giving money to candidates — we'll be taking it," says D'Agostino.

Already the candidates are lining up for their services, convinced the Berman-Waxman-Rosenthal quarter is as popular on the West Side as ever, and aware of Michael Berman's proven skills as a strategist.

But in addition to their acknowledged clout with most of the West Side candidates, the Berman-Waxman operatives also are collecting some of the harshest criticism yet of their style. In fact, they did manage to manipulate the entire West Side electoral scene. Michael Berman's move out of Waxman's office and into his own firm may ease the attacks a bit. But at least a few opponents are trying to convince voters that Richard Daley may be alive and well and living on LA's West Side.

Here is a rundown of the key races in the area:

- **27th Congressional District** — The incumbent, Robert Dornan, is running for the GOP nomination for U.S. Senate — a smart move since his district has been significantly Democratized to fit the needs of Assemblyman Mel Levine. Levine has no opposition at all, although he has raised $350,000 just out of reflex.
- **26th Congressional District** — It is a similar story here, with Assemblyman Howard Berman planning to join Levine and Henry Waxman in Washington. This seat was also nicely Democratized through reapportionment. Berman has no serious opposition.
- **22nd Senate District** — This seat recently became available when Alan Sieroty called it quits. Assemblyman Herschel Rosenthal leaped over within minutes, displaying a "who's-who" list of endorsements designed to scare everyone else away. The list includes Tom Bradley, Ken Cory, Jesse Unruh, all the Berman-Waxman folks and just about everyone else in California politics. Any opposition scattered on cue and Rosenthal aide Jeanne Manfred says, "We don't anticipate we'll have to do any hard campaigning at all."
- **43rd Assembly District** — This race had the potential for breaking the bank and upsetting the Berman operation. But at the last minute, the Bermans managed to make just about everyone happy.

Gray Davis, for seven years chief of staff for Governor Jerry Brown, had his eyes on state Controller Ken Cory even as he was raising $600,000 for an Assembly race in the 43rd. Had Cory not run for re-election, Davis probably would have switched to the controller's race. He also looked closely at running for Alan Sieroty's Senate seat but was afraid to go head-to-head with Rosenthal and the Bermans.

Michele Willens is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles and a regular contributor to the Journal.

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The problem for Davis in staying in the 43rd was a potentially bruising and costly battle with Conway Collis, a little-known but highly successful fund-raiser for Senator Alan Cranston and others. Collis had already raised $300,000 and had Cranston heading a respectable list of supporters. Right up to the end, Collis was saying, "Gray has lots of money and he's very intelligent, and I'll beat him by a very substantial margin."

The prize catch was the Berman seal of approval. Both Davis and Collis practically camped out at the Berman offices, pleading past loyalties and promising future ones. "Every time Michael Berman sneezed, Conway was there with a hanky," said one insider.

All along it was clear that the Bermans personally preferred Davis. ("You are my brother's friend," Michael told Davis once.) But they also feared that Davis might be more independent and ambitious, a less loyal member of the team than Collis was promising to be. Finally, in the days before the filing deadline, the Bermans met late into the night with both candidates. They asked Davis to consider a race for a Board of Equalization seat. But Davis told the brothers Berman, Mel Levine and Carl D'Agostino at their last five-hour meeting that he was in the 43rd to stay.

The early-morning message

A few days before deadline, at 3 a.m., Davis heard from the Bermans that they had convinced Collis to agree to run for the Board of Equalization seat. They suggested that Davis call Collis, which he did, and the two men pledged to help each other. Berman-D'Agostino Campaigns will help both.

So many last-minute meetings had gone on so long that, when Davis ran into Howard Berman afterward, Davis joked, "I didn't recognize you in the daylight."

After years as the governor's right-hand man, why would Davis even want to run for a seat in the Assembly where he may get lost in the crowd? "It's a chance to come out of the shadows," he says. "Also, I grew up in this district and would love a chance to represent it. I'm willing to take a two-thirds pay cut because I want to make a contribution of my own. I also feel I know the legislators well already and will go in there on an equal footing."

Davis is not Jewish, but he managed to work in his first trip to Israel in January. He was also quick to call on legislators to take action against state Senator John Schmitz following Schmitz' remarks disparaging to every possible minority, including Jews.

• **44th Assembly District** — This end of the West Side contains Santa Monica and parts of Malibu and Venice. It is where Tom Hayden feels confident he can get elected to office. He managed to intimidate actor Gregory Peck's son, Carey, to get out of the race, but two other opponents have popped up in Peck's place: Steve Saltzman, a former Bradley aide, and Alan Katz, a young attorney long involved with Democratic campaigns. Both have some heavyweights behind them: Saltzman's effort is co-chaired by former U.S. Senator John Tunney; Katz's supporters include Bruce Corwin, a longtime Howard Berman friend and a former Democratic Party official.

Hayden has already raised more than $250,000 and can go as high as the sky, thanks to strong backing from the Hollywood community. Saltzman says he will raise $425,000 and Katz started out with more than $100,000. Katz and Saltzman are both more moderate than Hayden, but it is unlikely one can win unless the other drops out.

Here there is also some wooing of the Berman-Waxman operation, but there is less chance that the Bermans would choose to get entangled in the primary. Cesar Chavez, a strong Hayden backer, has consistently reminded the Bermans of the $300,000 the United Farmworkers raised for Howard's speaker fight. Corwin, on behalf of Alan Katz, is also pointing to his past support of Howard.

• **45th Assembly District** — This may be the hottest race on the West Side, the one that will truly test the strength of the Berman-Waxman operation. The seat was left open when Herschel Rosenthal moved on to the Senate race.

At the center of the storm is Burt Margolin, chief of staff to Congressman Waxman in Washington. Margolin surprised even the Bermans when he announced he wanted to run in the 45th, and they asked him to prove his financial independence first. After convincing them he could raise up to $100,000 on his own if necessary, they agreed to go full force behind him. Because they will not need to spend much time or money for Levine, Howard Berman or Rosenthal, the Bermans will invest their biggest efforts in Margolin.

They began by quickly locking up key endorsements for Margolin from big names like Zev Yaroslavsky, former Governor Pat Brown, Ira Reiner and Speaker Willie Brown.

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But the bulldozer approach turned off a lot of people, including Senate leader David Roberti and members of the feminist and gay communities. (The 45th has a fairly high gay constituency.) "They seem to practice the politics of exclusion," says one gay leader. "Instead of coming to us and saying 'We're runing Burt Margolin and we'd like your support,' we got the word that the Bermans had made their decision and now get out of the way." That implied to gays that they should deter one of their leaders, Rob Eichberg, from making a run for the seat.

At the same time, active Democratic women held a meeting with Howard Berman to criticize him for not consulting them on plans for the open seat. "We were angry at their whole operation and how it was handled," says major Democratic contributor Joan Palevsky.

The Bermans admit "we have many friends we should have talked to," but they say too many things happened too quickly for them to pause. Among the fast-moving events they cite: Sieroty suddenly quitting, Rosenthal moving over and Margolin announcing his intentions. They also say, however, that the critics are few and noisy: "Ninety percent of our world is happy with us," says Michael Berman.

Many of the women — and possibly the gays — are uniting behind Wally Albertson for the Rosenthal seat. She is making a campaign issue out of the "machine" operations. "There is a definite feeling out there," says Albertson, "that people have had it with candidates being hand-picked by a few people, instead of allowing democracy to take place."

Equally eager at first to take on the "machine" was state Senate leader Roberti who planned for a while to back his own aide, Clifford Berg, for the seat. (Berg later dropped out of the race.) "My main intention is to keep the process open," said Roberti. "This thing must stop here, this group of officeholders dictating who runs and who wins."

The Bermans' response to Roberti: All he was doing was making them spend more resources for the same results. "And the irony," said Michael Berman, "is that the more we're forced to spend to help Burt, the less we can spend to get more Democrats elected to the state Senate — like Gary Hart and Bill Lockyer. So Roberti is shooting himself in both legs here."

In truth, the Berman-Waxman operatives take none of their opposition in the 45th seriously. They feel that, when the women and gay leaders get over their bruised egos, they will come around to Margolin. Some of the key phrases in the Bermans' first major letter to constituents in the 45th went like this: "Rarely has an unknown had such an impressive 14-year background." "Burt Margolin is the ideal Democrat to replace Henry Waxman." "Already, the overwhelming favorite to win . . ." The letter was signed by a host of big names in the district.

That style pretty well sums up the power of the Berman-Waxman operation and shows why it is virtually the only one of its kind in the state. "It is political intimidation," says one powerful Democrat on the West Side, "but for all the right reasons. Like their style or not, they represent their people well, they have credibility and they are extremely successful fund-raisers and strategists."

In the end, the attacks on the "machine" will probably only give it more power, real or perceived. Opponents will probably learn the painful, costly way that the problem with yelling "Berman-Waxman" is that most of the people who are listening like those names a whole lot.

The beat of the West Side Shuffle goes on.

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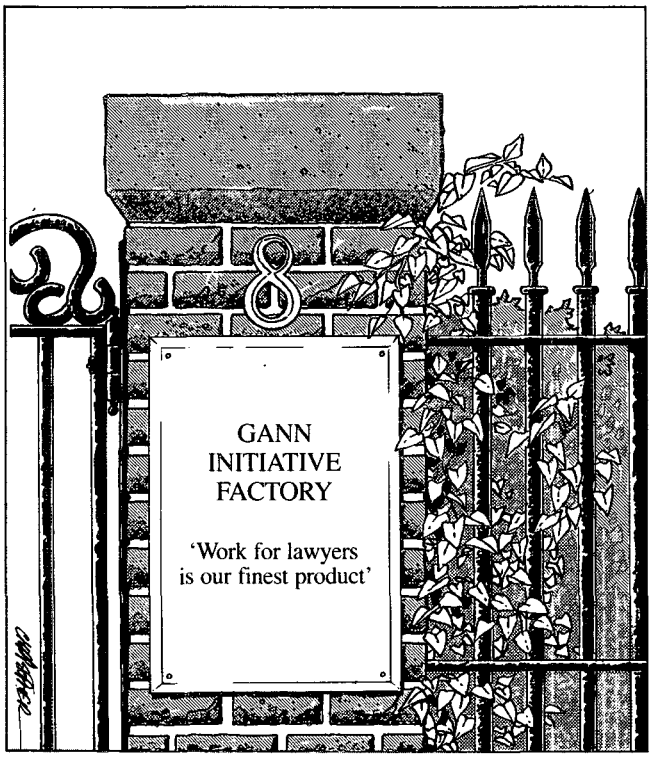
A 'victim's bill of rights' or a lawyers' employment act?

By DENA COCHRAN



Paul Gann wants to do it again. After rewriting California tax law -- with the help of voters who overwhelmingly supported his co-sponsored Proposition 13 — Gann now wants to rewrite the state's criminal laws. A well-financed signature-collecting campaign has placed on the June ballot a "Criminal Justice Initiative" (Proposition 8) which Gann and his supporters prefer to call a "victim's bill of rights."

Just getting the initiative on the ballot produced almost as much controversy as Proposition 8 will create if it passes. For weeks a battle raged in the courts and the state Capitol over whether and when the issue should be placed before voters. Secretary of State March Fong Eu got the state Supreme Court to permit her office to process the initiative, pending the court's decision on whether it should be voted on in June or November — or at all.

Did the petitions actually contain enough valid signatures to qualify the initiative? (A random sampling said no, according to existing law; pro-Gann legislators immediately pushed through a bill to change the law.) Should individual verification of every signature have been required? (That would have delayed the issue until November, and politicians opposed to the initiative were eager to have the whole fight behind them before the fall campaigns.) Could the state Supreme Court reject the initiative as unconstitutional because it covers more than one subject — even before voters had a chance to cast their ballots? (Gann's backers spoke ominously of future recall campaigns against court justices who interfered with the initiative process.)

In mid-March a divided state Supreme Court ordered the Gann initative placed on the June ballot. By a 4-3 vote, the court said only that "it is usually more appropriate to review constitutional and other challenges . . . after an election rather than to disrupt the electoral process."

The three justices who dissented in whole or in part from the unsigned majority opinion were Chief Justice Rose Bird and Justices Frank Newman and Stanley Mosk. Mosk said he would have thrown the measure off the ballot because it deals with many subjects and "poses a real danger of voter deception and confusion." Bird called the initative "a grab bag of proposals" and also said that when the Legislature granted an exception to the signature-verification law for Proposition 8 only, it made "a mockery of the whole initiative process." Such exceptions could be granted in the future to help only those measures favored by the legislators, she warned.

But the majority decision clearly prevented the massive conservative backlash that would have resulted if Proposition 8 had been rejected by the court even before a public vote. It also cleared the decks for consideration of the more significant issue: the initative's potential impact on the state's criminal-justice system. Because it would change so many existing laws and would raise questions on several constitutional fronts, Proposition 8, if approved, will guarantee years of legal and political debate.

Charging that our current justice system doesn't work, Gann and his forces have proposed revising major portions of California's criminal laws. (See box.) The initiative has widespread support among law-and-order forces, including the California Sheriffs Association, the California District Attorneys Association and more than 150 police chiefs. Other backers include gubernatorial candidate Mike Curb, Senate hopeful Pete Wilson, Attorney General George Deukmejian and his assistant, George Nicholson, who helped draft the bill and is running for attorney general. The American Civil Liberties Union and the California Public Defenders Association are opposed to the initiative. So is state Senate President pro Tem David Roberti, who has called it "an example of an uninformed, irresponsible approach to resolving an important social problem."

According to Bob McElreth, campaign director for the initiative, most of the money which financed the petition drive came in contributions of between $10 and $20 from "persons who have contributed to similar causes." A Los Angeles cocktail party brought in over $80,000 and San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson kicked in about $45,000 in amounts received in excess of the $1,000 federal limitation on individual contributions when he switched from running for governor to the U.S. Senate race.

The initiative's provisions will undoubtedly prove popular with voters who are angry and frustrated by the state's increasing crime rates. "Despite most of the anti-crime rhetoric coming out of Sacramento these days, the scales are still badly tilted toward the criminal," charges San Diego Mayor Wilson who is the Southern California co-chairman for the Gann initiative. Opinion polls suggest that many Californians agree. Even questioning the initiative's long-range effects

Dena Cochran is a free-lance writer in Visalia.

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will be difficult for this year's crop of politicians.

Yet there are several questions which will have to be addressed when Proposition 8 is considered. Among them:

What will it cost? The state Department of Corrections has estimated that Proposition 8 would add 495 inmate-years annually to the state prison system, at a cost of more than $200 million in the next five years. California's present prison population is already pushing 29,000, nearly 4,000 inmates above capacity. Cities and counties could feel the trickle-down effect if the state is forced to make cutbacks elsewhere in order to have the money to expand and operate its prisons.

On the county level, passage of the initiative would tighten bail standards and keep more pre-sentenced prisoners in jail — again, a difficult goal because of crowded jail conditions. According to the Department of Corrections, most of the main county jails in the state are already overcrowded. County governments, already struggling to keep their budgets in balance, will be hard-pressed to pay for extra law-enforcement personnel and more jail space. Counties will also need more probation officers if the initiative passes, since probation departments will have to serve as a liaison with crime victims, notifying them of sentencing hearings and other related matters.

The initiative's plea-bargaining limitations probably would have little impact on counties already adhering to a strict interpretation of what is bargainable. But in some counties, including many large ones, clogged courts and limited legal staffs have often forced district attorneys to use more liberal plea-bargaining standards. It is in such counties that passage of Proposition 8 could bring about big jumps in the number of cases tried. This would increase costs for more deputy district attorneys, public defenders, judges, bailiffs and other court personnel.

In spite of the likely cost increases which passage could entail, few county officials are publicly opposing Proposition 8. When the County Supervisors Association of California (CSAC) requested an analysis of potential costs resulting from the initiative, only five counties replied. Of these, only San Francisco has taken a position in opposition. This may reflect the difficulty that most county supervisors will find in opposing a measure which calls for restitution to victims of crime and stiffer penalties against their attackers. State officeholders and candidates face a similar dilemma.

What are the likely legal challenges? Stanford law professor John Kaplan has predicted that Proposition 8 "will give lawyers work for the next 30 years straightening it out." One provision destined for challenge would forbid the exclusion of most "relevant" evidence in any criminal proceeding. California's current evidence law — commonly known as the exclusionary rule — is more strict than federal evidence rules. Under the initiative's provisions, that rule would be virtually eliminated; most relevant evidence would be permitted, subject to exceptions enacted by a two-thirds vote of the Legislature.

Another likely target: the abolition of the diminished-capacity defense which became notorious as the "Twinkie defense" in the trial of San Franciscan Dan White for the shootings of George Moscone and Harvey Milk. White's attorney successfully maintained that his client's reasoning capabilities were diminished by a heavy diet of junk food, including Twinkies and sodas. The initiative's diminished-capacity provision would supersede SB 54 (Roberti) which the Legislature passed last fall. It was drafted with the assistance of the California District Attorneys Association and probably would better withstand a constitutional challenge than the loosely worded provision of Proposition 8, according to some legal experts.

Another legal question arises from the section allowing unlimited use of a person's prior convictions to obtain a conviction or to lengthen a sentence. Currently there are restrictions on prosecutors' use of prior convictions; defense attorneys would surely challenge this change as a violation of a defendant's constitutional rights.

Guaranteeing 'safe' schools

The biggest legal problem may be posed by "the right to safe schools," which could conflict with the compulsory education law. If students have a related inalienable right to attend campuses which are safe, secure, peaceful," then they may well have the same inalienable right to refuse to attend a school which they do not consider safe. What then would become of compulsory education, and to what lengths would school districts be expected to go to insure that campuses are "safe"?

The first legal challenge from opponents of Proposition 8 came early, on the grounds that it violates the state law requiring that initiatives be limited to a single subject. Most initiatives have been allowed to stand if their provisions were closely related to each other. Whether this initiative's assorted victim, prosecutorial and school provisions would pass this test remains to be seen, but backers can cite the fact that the law has been liberally interpreted in the past. The initiative also contains a severability clause, no doubt inserted by drafters with the thought of potential legal challenge. This clause would allow provisions to stand which are constitutional even if certain others are found not to be so and are eliminated.

Even if it fails to pass, Proposition 8 will serve as a reminder to the Legislature that many Californians want to see criminal penalties stiffened. Ironically, the Legislature passed a record number of law-and-order bills during the past year, several of which make changes similar to some of those contained in the initiative.

On two facts all parties can agree: The legal, fiscal and political fallout from Proposition 8 could equal if not exceed the impact of Proposition 13. But many politicians will find it safest this year to stifle their concerns — and let the courts take the heat for the fate of 8.

Criminal Justice Initiative: What it would do

Restitution is ordered in every case in which a crime victim suffers a loss.

All students, primary through high school, have the right to safe schools.

Relevant evidence shall not be excluded in any criminal proceeding.

Public safety shall be the primary concern in setting bail.

Prior felony convictions shall be used without limitation to convict a person or to lengthen his or her sentence.

The diminished capacity defense is abolished.

Sentences for persons convicted of serious felonies shall be lengthened by five years for each prior conviction for a serious felony.

Crime victims shall be notified of and have the right to appear and be heard at all sentencing and parole proceedings.

Plea bargaining is restricted in serious felony cases and drunken driving cases, except for certain limited exceptions.

No person convicted of a serious felony committed when he or she is age 18 or older shall be committed to the Youth Authority.

The mentally disordered sex offender program is abolished.

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Will California lead a nuclear-weapons freeze?

By SARA TERRY

It's gotten to be a familiar spot for Californians: the cutting edge. The state that's led the nation in everything from a roller skating revival to a taxpayers' revolution is out there once again, this time over an issue of international import — the nuclear arms race.

By late April, Secretary of State March Fong Eu should have in hand petitions bearing some 500,000 signatures — enough to qualify the Bilateral Nuclear Freeze Initiative for the November ballot. Qualification, in turn, will make California the first state in the country where voters will have their say, on a statewide ballot, on the nuclear arms race.

The initiative — which urges President Reagan to propose to the Soviet Union that both nations agree to "freeze" all testing, production, and further deployment of nuclear weapons — is only an advisory, and not legally binding, measure. Still, because it is set against a national backdrop of increasing citizen concern over nuclear proliferation, and because it has been launched in a state which is home not only to 10 percent of the nation's population but also its president, the freeze vote — if it is successful — is expected to pack a meaningful political punch.

WILLENS

Mervin Field, director of the California Poll, calls it "a bellwether thing." Dr. Helen Caldicott, president of Physicians for Social Responsibility and a leading spokesperson against the nuclear arms race, says it is "tremendously significant." And both agree with Harold Willens, the Los Angeles industrialist who is coordinating the campaign, that the California vote may well trigger a national chain reaction, similar to the nationwide taxpayer revolt sparked in the wake of the passage of Proposition 13.

"I see the initiative as a contemporary Paul Revere which will sound the alarm and really begin to awaken the slumbering body politic," says Willens, who is perhaps best known for his role in rallying American businessmen against the war in Vietnam.

"I see it as the beginning of a broad citizen effort to bring moral, medical, scientific and economic pressure to bear on the political process in this country," he continues. "We're not naive enough to think that passage of the initiative will end the threat of nuclear annihilation, but we do consider it a very significant first step in ending that threat. It's the first step in creating a national citizen mandate for a freeze on the nuclear arms race."

Willens may be overstepping himself a bit there. After all, a national nuclear freeze proposal has been in circulation among activists for a few years now. That proposal, initially titled "A Call To Halt," has served as the basis for freeze votes by various local governments, by the state legislatures of Oregon and Massachusetts, and, in some cases, such as the 1980 general election ballot in several western Massachusetts towns, by citizens themselves.

But the California initiative *does* move the arms race debate a quantum leap forward. As the first statewide proposal, it represents the broadest effort to date — and already has triggered interest in launching similar state drives elsewhere. The campaign, which pulls together members of the medical, scientific, religious and business communities, is settled squarely in grass-roots politics. And if Willens and other initiative strategists have their way, the issue will be kept above the traditional partisan fray.

Already Willens has refused Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.'s request to make a public announcement of his endorsement of the initiative. When the California Democratic Party announced its support in December, just days after the campaign was officially kicked off, it did so on party stationery, out of party headquarters. Not a word was breathed from initiative leaders. Freeze organizers have been careful, too, to distance the issue from the politically sensitive question of nuclear power and to try to separate it completely from the conventional defense buildup which polls show is favored by many Americans. They are trying to define the issue as narrowly as possible, to pose it as a question of life or human annihilation.

"We're all for national security and a strong defense," explains Willens, who served as a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nation's special session on disaramament in 1978, and who is the driving force behind the campaign. "But if 200 thermonuclear devices can effectively destroy any adversary on earth, where is the sense in having 30,000 nuclear weapons (the estimated total now held by the United States)?

"It's taking that simple question to the citizens," he says. "If you present it in a clear, simple manner in someone's home or church or synagogue, or on a college campus, you're going to awaken people to a new reality which they've ignored . . . (The issue) has been burdened with partisan,

Sara Terry is Los Angeles news correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor.

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The initiative's message

Here is the text of the message that the initiative would require the governor of California to send to the president:

"The People of the State of California, recognizing that the safety and security of the United States must be paramount in the concerns of the American people; and further recognizing that our national security is reduced, not increased, by the growing danger of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union which would result in millions of deaths of people in California and throughout the nation; do hereby urge that the Government of the United States propose to the Government of the Soviet Union that both countries agree to immediately halt the testing, production and further deployment of all nuclear weapons, missiles and delivery systems in a way that can be checked and verified by both sides."

political and ideological baggage, which just doesn't belong. Being concerned about the growing danger of nuclear war is about as political as being concerned about cancer."

If Mervin Field's late January poll on the subject is any indication, Willens may be right about the issue being a non-ideological one. According to that poll, the initiative is favored by a nearly 2 to 1 majority — support which cuts across philosophical lines (although conservatives were found to be a little less likely to favor the measure than moderates and liberals). In addition, Field found that voters strongly supported the initiative as a way to make an individual statement about an issue which seems to hopelessly transcend the average citizen's sphere of influence.

It's a finding that pleases Willens, who contends that government never initiates important social change, but only validates what the voting public demands. He likes to quote Dwight D. Eisenhower, who once said, "The people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than our government. Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days goverment better get out of their way and let them have it."

So far, the campaign has attracted an impressive string of endorsers and supporters. Among them are medical giants like Jonas Salk; five Nobel laureates, including Dr. Donald Glaser, who won the Nobel Prize for physics in 1960 and who helped kick off the freeze campaign last December; former members of the Manhattan Project, which developed the atomic bomb in the 1940s, including Dr. Mervin Goldberger, president of the California Institute of Technology; and religious leaders from virtually every denomination, with the most prominent among them being San Francisco Archbishop John R. Quinn, who also helped kick off the campaign. (Quinn set the Bay Area buzzing last October when he said, in a pastoral statement, "Nuclear weapons and the arms race must be condemned as immoral.")

The list of endorsers also includes activist businessmen like Victor Palmieri, who is chairing a statewide drive to get a handgun control initiative on the November ballot; and a stellar collection of Hollywood names, including producers Norman Lear and Bud Yorkin, actor Mike Farrell, and actresses Sally Field and Patti Davis, daughter of the president.

It is the grass-roots supporters, however, on whom the campaign is being built — a strategy planned by Willens and two brainstorming committees from Northern and Southern California. Their members include San Francisco business executives Peter Mezey and Gordon Sherman, former president of Midas Muffler Company; industrialist Leo Wyler; author Norman Cousins; attorney Howard Miller, former president of the Los Angeles school board; and a handful of others.

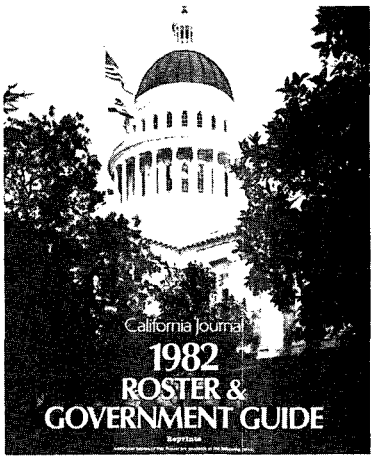
The volunteer force

Although big-name endorsers are called on from time to time to draw attention or money, the initiative drive has been designed as a citizen effort. During the campaign's first month, in fact, some 1,500 individuals around the state were recruited to hold signature-gathering parties in their homes. With the exception of Orange County, where about 10 persons were paid to collect signatures, virtually all the petitions were circulated by volunteers who held house parties, stalked crowds waiting in line at movie theaters or sat at tables on college campuses.

That "skeletal structure of a citizen force," which Willens expects to number in the several thousands as the drive gathers momentum, will be the backbone of the campaign's second phase: an educational effort which gears up after the petitions are handed over for validation by the secretary of state.

Once again, volunteers will be encouraged to hold small gatherings in their homes as "educational seminars" on the growing threat of nuclear annihilation. Speakers, ranging

ROSTER UPDATE



The following updates and corrections should be noted to the *California Journal Roster and Government Guide,* published in the February issue:

Page 2: The director of the governor's office of citizen initiative and volunteer action is Jan Strader.

Page 3: The new secretary of health and welfare is Douglas X. Patino.

Page 6: The new district office address and telephone number for Congressman Robert Badham are 180 Newport Center Drive, Suite 240, Newport Beach 92660; (714) 644-4040.

Page 8: The main district office address and telephone number for Senator Rose Ann Vuich are 120 W. Tulare, Dinuba 93618; (209) 591-5005.

Page 12: The correct telephone numbers for the Assembly Business and Professions and Constitutional Amendments Committees are (916) 322-3037 and (916) 445-6445 respectively.

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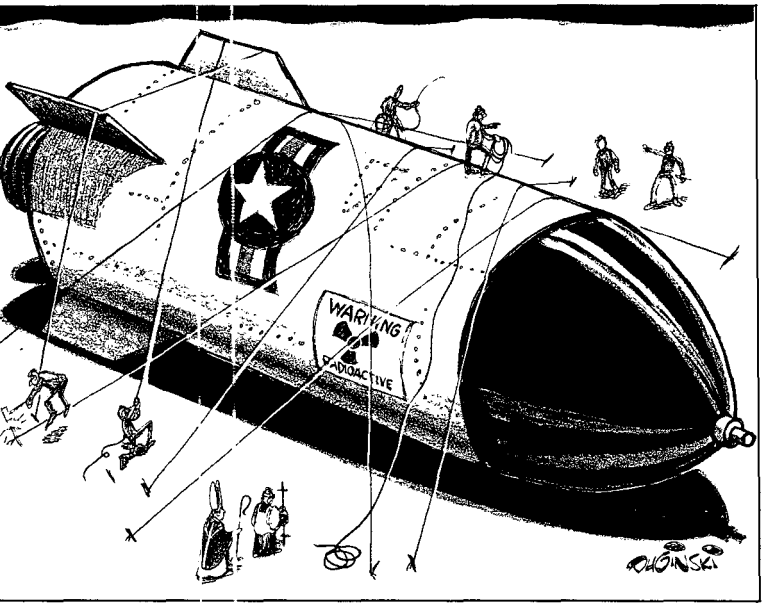

from housewives and doctors to scientists and military officials, will be provided by the campaign. In addition, films on the dangers of nuclear war will be available — including a graphic film on what a nuclear bomb would do to San Francisco, produced by Ian Thiermann, a Bay Area businessman and Northern California coordinator of the campaign. Similar gatherings will be held at churches and synagogues and on college campuses. Speakers also will be sent to address Kiwanis, Rotary, and other service clubs around the state.

Although campaign strategists are determined that the initiative will not become a political football, they are not averse to using it for political ends. Already, citizen groups have been formed along county and congressional lines, for the specific purpose of sponsoring political forums on the nuclear arms race issue — and inviting prospective candidates for local, state and congressional offices to be questioned on that one issue.

Nor are Willens and his friends unwilling to use the media — and their Hollywood connections — to further their ends. By early May, in fact, some newspaper ads and television spots may begin to appear. Although Willens won't tip the campaign's media hand, he says, "It's our plan to create some extraordinary TV spots that will be innovative, citizen-oriented — different from what you usually see in a political campaign."

All of that takes money, of course, and again Willens is counting on citizen support to fuel the campaign. Although the $350,000 budget for the signature-gathering phase of the drive was supplied by Willens and a handful of his friends who each chipped in a $10,000 donation and a $15,000 loan, Willens says he hopes the majority of the $1.5 to $2 million needed to run the campaign up to the November election will come from small donations from thousands of citizens. Like virtually every other serious political campaign around today, the freeze campaign will rely heavily on direct mail solicitations for money. It has hired the Washington, D.C.-based firm of Craver, Matthews and Smith (which also does direct mail for the Democratic National Committee) for that purpose.

The real test

Freeze activists contend that the key to the initiative's success is education, the awakening of what Willens calls "citizen common sense." That education process, with its statewide thrust, is expected to provide the basis for the most far-reaching public dialogue to date in this country on an issue that already has politicized much of Western Europe.

So far, no organized opposition to the initiative has emerged, although some scientists at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory have criticized the measure in television and newspaper interviews as placing the United States at a disadvantage in the nuclear arms race — particularly, they say, in light of the fact that the Soviets have deployed a powerful first-strike weapon, the SS18. To enact a freeze now, say these scientists, before the United States can deploy the MX, would mean the USSR would be "frozen" with a first-strike advantage. In addition, although it has not surfaced yet, some protest might be expected to come from the state's massive defense industry, whose leaders may try to argue that passing the initiative might harm the nation's defense posture. In fact, the initiative's real test may lie in whether it is accepted by the public as a truly bilateral proposal, or whether it is perceived as a unilateral move that could weaken either deterrence or Reagan's negotiating hand with the Soviets.

"It's a motherhood issue type of thing," says Field. "But if it looks like unilateral disarmament or something less than a national commitment to heavy defense, it'll be in trouble. Opponents will probably use an argument against it that runs something like, 'Are you ready to give up deterrence? Don't you think that's what holding the Soviets in check?' " On the other hand, Field contends that a lack of opposition might water down the significance of the initiative if it passes — in essence becoming a "non-issue" if no one is stirred to oppose it.

With the public education blitz that's been planned, however, it's not likely the issue will fall by the wayside for lack of attention. And Willens has moved early to try to blunt potential opposition by trying to portray the initiative as a catalyst that would help create a national climate of support for Reagan in broaching freeze talks with the Soviets.

"We're not talking unilateral disarmament; this doesn't even approach that," he contends. "But we are talking about unilateral initiative. We're saying that under the protection of our vast thermonuclear umbrella, we're going to be the leader in stopping the nuclear arms race. We're going to act like a leader by breaking new ground in proposing a freeze.

"Just like Nixon had perfect credentials for going to China, Ronald Reagan has the perfect credentials for this," he argues. "Who will say he is soft on communism?"

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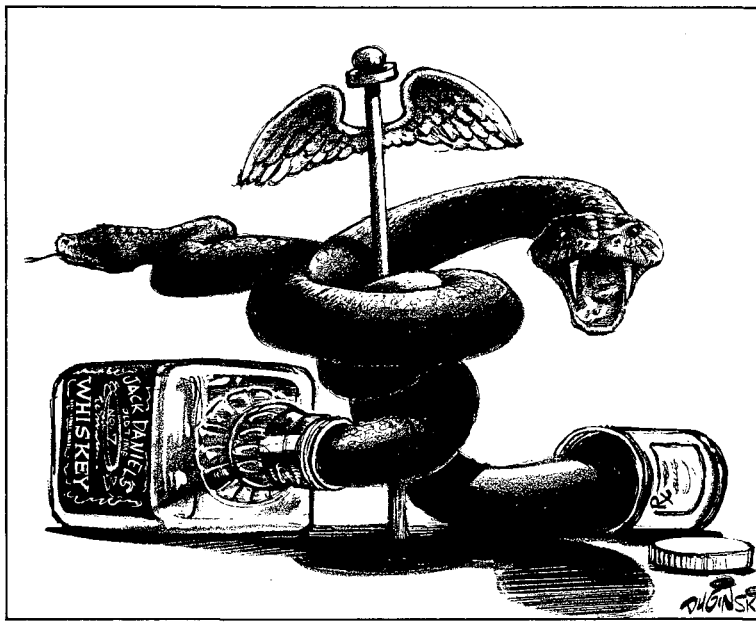
Healing for the healers from drink-and-drug demons

One of the most vexing problems facing state licensing boards for the healing arts is the incidence of alcoholism and drug addiction among professionals. Some boards have instituted programs to treat licensees who have become "impaired." Others are still struggling with the issue, which is analyzed in the following report by San Francisco free-lance writer Jennifer Cross, who serves as a public member on the state Board of Dental Examiners.

By JENNIFER CROSS



"Physician, heal thyself!" is no easier today than it was in St. Luke's time, particularly when it comes to grappling with the demons of drink and drugs. Based on current estimates of chemical dependency, it is likely that 10 percent of California's healing-arts professionals have a severe problem with alcohol, and another 2 percent are addicted to drugs. In other words, 9,725 MDs and surgeons, 3,059 allied health workers, 2,372 dentists, 2,288 dental assistants, 31,440 nurses, 648 veterinarians and 2,160 pharmacists may be practicing "under the influence," at least some of the time.

In January 1980, the Board of Medical Quality Assurance (BMQA) started an experiment in coping with what is discreetly called the "impaired" physician. The BMQA diversion program is a voluntary, confidential, state-supervised system of treatment and rehabilitation, designed to help people before they become hopelessly addicted and to help them keep their licenses.

Applicants are screened, interviewed, examined physically and evaluated psychologically. They then meet with a diversion evaluation committee to work out an individualized schedule of rehabilitation. Anyone unable to function safely is quietly removed from practice for 28 days of detoxification, usually in a hospital. Every client then receives counseling and promises to abstain from drugs and alcohol.

Rehabilitation involves a heavy dose of *esprit de corps*, on the Alcoholics Anonymous model, dispensed by one of six diversion monitoring groups around the state. Dr. Earl Marsh, a retired psychiatrist and OB-GYN who now leads the Bay Area Group, says that part of the addicts' problem is their difficulty in having close relationships with other people. "Health professionals also suffer an extreme case of the 'God syndrome,' " Marsh adds. "Their egos often won't let them go to AA or Narcotics Anomymous. But these 'alumni' groups become a mutual support system, which continues for three to five years — long after they think they are cured."

Out of a total of 180 applicants, 129 persons are currently under treatment and four have flunked out, according to Jerry Becker, program manager. While no one can yet be deemed cured, the majority of participants are at least functional and making progress toward permanent sobriety, Becker says. Medical doctors in diversion programs can avoid the disciplinary process, thereby saving BMQA the $5,000 to $6,000 it costs to investigate and prosecute a drug or alcohol abuser. Other advantages to the two-year-old program: Professionals are seeking help sooner than before, and hospital administrators are more likely to refer troubled physicians to diversion programs than to fire them.

The main fault

Diversion is not, of course, without its detractors. It has been criticized both for being too soft on participants and for failing to treat them with respect. However, most observers say that the main fault of diversion programs is that there aren't enough of them to meet the need. By the most optimistic count, treatment is available only to about 8 percent of the potential number of MDs and eight other allied health professionals who are licensed by BMQA. It is also not available to the mass of other needy professionals licensed by other boards: dentists and dental assistants, nurses, pharmacists and veterinarians.

Two boards, moving to fill this gap, are seeking legislation to start their own diversion programs. Last year the Board of Examiners in Veterinary Medicine sponsored AB 1112 (Filante), which has passed the Assembly Business and Professions Committee and is now in the Senate Business and Professions Committee. Similar legislation was introduced in January by Assemblyman Louis Papan for the Board of Dental Examiners. Watching closely are the Boards of Pharmacy, Registered Nurses and Vocational Nurse and Psychiatric Technician Examiners.

Their interest is fueled by the suspicion that drug and alcohol abuse is an occupational hazard for their licensees. All of them either possess prescribing privileges or work in hospitals or offices where drugs are available. Many professionals also believe that stress contributes to the problem, not because it causes addiction, but because it drives people to seek chemical peace of mind. Physical injury or disability are other dangers for these professionals, many of whom do

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most of their work standing up. Aging vertebrae, arthritis or accidents can push them into early retirement — or onto a downward spiral of pain and mind-deadening drugs.

None of the societies serving the interests of these professionals sponsor any treatment or counseling programs for members although California Dental Association has access to the 24-hour physicians' confidential line, run by the California Medical Association, to refer callers to treatment or counseling.

Reporting of addicted members is rare, mostly because of a deeply ingrained reluctance to "snitch" on a fellow professional. Nurses or hospital pharmacists are sometimes reported to the state, particularly if they filch cocaine, but they are more often fired and then trickle downhill from one institution to another. Self-employed pharmacists, dentists and veterinarians with a drug or alcohol problem can continue in a state of near-intoxication until they become an obvious menace.

Protecting the public

During 1981, there were 157 dentists, veterinarians, pharmacists, nurses and phychiatric technicians disciplined by their respective boards for drug or alcohol abuse. Of that number, the vast majority — 131 — were nurses, partly because their ranks are larger and partly because they do not enjoy the relative immunity of being self-employed. The total number disciplined increases slightly every year, either because of better detection and investigation or because chemical addiction is actually increasing.

The current drive to extend diversion is being led by several lay members of the professional boards. They share a concern for what they perceive to be the costly and inept handling of professional drug and alcohol victims and the bureaucracy's total failure to protect the public.

One of the worst examples of "the system" involved a young dentist from San Diego, who was caught in 1975 and disciplined in 1976 for prescribing Percodan for nonexistent patients, then diverting it to his own use. Three years later he was arrested eight times for drunken or reckless driving. His license was not finally revoked until January 1982 — six years and two probations after his problems first surfaced.

Another example: One Bay Area dentist left a year-long trail of Dent-Cal fraud, an arrest for breaking and entering, one serious case of gross negligence and finally a suicide attempt before he was turned into the state board by his local dental society. Even then the board only discovered by accident that his problem was addiction to beer and pills.

There was also the case of a young pharmacist involved in a car crash which left him with a metal rod in one leg and a bad limp. He first took Percodan for pain, which made him drowsy. He then took amphetamines and Ritalin to wake him up, then methaqualone to help him sleep. After 10 months on this chemical seesaw he was fired and turned in to his licensing board. After losing two more jobs, he became a shoe salesman in Salt Lake City.

Desperate people can find several ways to evade the network of state and federal laws against the self-abuse and misprescribing of dangerous drugs. One is to write false "scrips" for mythical patients, overweight assistants or invalid wives. Another is the recreational sniffing of anaesthetics such as fluothane or nitrous oxide, a practice which produces not only hilarious lunch hours and euphoric night shifts but the risk of neurological damage after long-term use. A third potential for abuse is manufacturers' samples which have been accused in the medical literature as being one primrose on the path to drug abuse. Other techniques are outright theft, shaving of cocaine tablets with a razorblade, and a brisk trade in a mix for terminal cancer patients containing cocaine, morphine, vodka, cherry syrup and distilled water.

Licensees who are caught face penalties ranging from up to five years' probation (with quarterly reporting and fluid testing), psychiatric counseling, short-term suspension or outright license revocation. There is no consistency of penalties among different boards or even on the same board over time, since board members come and go, hold different attitudes toward chemical addiction and fail to set adequate penalty guidelines.

Who pays the bill?

To the extent that diversion can short-circuit the enforcement process, it is accepted among the professional associations, provided the state picks up the tab. The only stumbling-block is likely to be lack of money.

The BMQA program has proved more costly than originally budgeted; it now runs about $240,000 a year. Smaller boards are tentatively looking at an initial outlay of $30,000-$100,000, which must either be scraped from their enforcement budgets or wheedled from a Legislature facing major fiscal problems.

Tight money is worrying other interested boards. "We have no money," admits Claudia Foutz, executive secretary of the Pharmacy Board. "We are broke and $400,000 behind in collections." Adds Barbara Brusstar, executive secretary of the Registered Nurses Board, "In 1980 we had a $100,000 overrun on investigations — I'm not sure diversion could be financed from an increase in fees."

Behind the scenes, some of the professional boards are currently meeting to discuss some kind of cost sharing. One way would be to fund a diversion program open to all participating licensees — although there is reason to doubt that dentists and veterinarians would work with nurses with any degree of comfort in this sensitive area. However, investigators could be jointly funded to do routine surveillance. So could diversion evaluation committees, which under the BMQA program consist of medical and lay experts in chemical addiction.

Cost-benefit analyses should at least let the dental and veterinary programs get off the ground in 1983. Meanwhile, the time clock of chemical addiction continues to run, accumulating more casualties. Next year, the limping pharmacist in Salt Lake City and the drunken dentist in San Diego can legally reapply for their licenses. They may or may not be "cured" but they might just be reinstated. Diversion could be a safe and acceptable way to ensure that they are safe to practice.

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Bandages for a bleeding budget

The Legislature acted in March to prevent red ink from flowing from the $25 billion budget for the current fiscal year — before settling down to the even-more-difficult work of balancing the 1982-83 budget. Here are the main elements of the program adopted by the Legislature and immediately signed into law by Governor Brown:

- A three-month suspension of employer contributions to the Public Employees Retirement Fund.
- A speedup of sales tax collections from retailers. (Earlier, lawmakers had applied a band-aid with a speedup applying to 200 firms. The second step increased the number of retailers to 1,700.)
- A capture of every available dollar in special funds and some cuts in relatively minor state programs.

The entire package authored by Assemblyman Lou Papan was designed to save the state some $481 million, providing a cushion of some $130 million to cover further problems during the remainder of the fiscal year ending June 30th. The Legislature also agreed to suspend automatic cost-of-living increases for the first three months of the next fiscal year. And Governor Brown ordered that costs be cut in several other ways — by freezing all hiring, transfer and promotion of state employees, by a 10 percent reduction in travel and by a ban on the purchase and leasing of some supplies and equipment.

Thus, the big losers in the budget bandaging act are state employees. Their retirement fund will lose contributions. They will not get pay raises July 1st, although that issue is presumably subject to collective bargaining. They will not be able to win promotions or transfer to other jobs. If someone leaves, he or she will not be replaced. (The cost-of-living provision also applies to welfare recipients and other payments tied to the Consumer Price Index or the California index.)

Approval of the $481 million package came on the heels of the enactment of a series of bills by Assemblyman Richard Robinson that would accelerate tax collections and impose higher interest rates on those who delay payment of taxes due the state.

Legislators also approved a $280 million bond issue for county jail facilities to be placed on the November ballot. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown was in the spotlight even more than usual after he used his influence to sidetrack a bill that would halt the sale of drug paraphernalia. Brown had received $15,000 in campaign funds from paraphernalia dealers.

VOTING RECORDS

Listed here are the votes of legislators on recent major roll calls through mid-March. Votes selected involve issues of major importance and issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y — Yes **N — No**
***— Absent or not voting**

A 2/3 vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriations.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (2/3 = 54 votes)

Senate: 21 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (2/3 = 27 votes)

SENATE (23D, 16R)	AB 1253 AB 7x AB 6x AB 8x SB 516	SB 1231 SR 29 SB 238 SB 358 SB 440
Alquist (D)	YYYYN	NYYNY
Ayala (D)	YYYYN	YYNYY
Beverly (R)	YYN*Y	*YYYN
Boatwright (D)	YYYY*	*YYYY
Campbell (R)	Y*NN*	YNYYY
Carpenter (D)	YYNYN	YYYYY
Craven (R)	YYN**	YNYYY
Davis (R)	YNNNY	YYYYY
Dills (D)	NYYYN	NYYYY
Doolittle (R)	*N*NY	YN*N*
Ellis (R)	Y*NNY	YNNYY
Foran (D)	YYYYN	*YYY*
Garamendi (D)	Y*YY*	*YYN*
Garcia, A. (D)	N*YYN	YYYYY
Garcia, M. (R)	Y*NNY	*NY*Y
Greene (D)	YYYYN	NYYYY
Holmdahl (D)	YYYYN	YYYNN
Johnson (R)	Y*N*Y	YNYYN
Keene (D)	YYYYN	NYN**
Maddy (R)	YYNNY	NNYYY
Marks (R)	NNN*N	NYYYN
Mello (D)	Y**Y*	*****
Mills (D)	Y*YYN	NYYYN
Montoya (D)	YYY**	YYYYY
Nielsen (R)	YNNN*	*YNYY
O'Keefe (R)	NNNNY	YYNYY
Petris (D)	YYYY*	NYYYN
Presley (D)	YNYNY	YYNYN
Rains (D)	YYYYN	NYYYN
Richardson (R)	**N*Y	YNNNY
Robbins (D)	NYYY*	*Y*YY
Roberti (D)	YYYYN	YYYY*
Russell (R)	YNNNY	YYYNY
Schmitz (R)	*NN**	YNNN*
Sieroty (D)	YYYYN	NYYYN
Speraw (R)	NNNNY	YNY*Y
Stiern (D)	NYYYN	YYNY*
Vuich (D)	NYYYY	NYYYY
Watson (D)	NYYYN	NYYYN

SENATE

FINANCE

AB 1253 (Papan) — Provides $481 million to balance the current state budget. Passed, 27-9.

AB 7x (Robinson) — Transfers $83 million in special funds to the state general fund. Passed, 21-9.

AB 6x (Robinson) — Accelerates employer payment of income-tax funds withheld from paychecks. Passed, 21-16.

AB 8x (Robinson) — Increases interest rates for late payment of state taxes and accelerates collection of sales taxes from major retailers. Passed, 21-11.

MISCELLANEOUS

SB 516 — (M. Garcia) — Narrows jurisdiction of Fair Employment and Housing Commission. Defeated, 13-16.

SB 1231 (Ellis) — Prohibits health-insurance companies from offering abortion coverage without a surcharge. Defeated, 19-12 (21 votes required).

SR 29 (Roberti) — Disassociates Senate from remarks made by Senator John Schmitz regarding Jews and homosexuals. Adopted, 28-10.

SB 238 (Alquist) — Gives legislators a 10-percent salary increase and boosts salaries of state constitutional officers, effective next year. Passed, 27-9.

SB 358 (Nielsen) — Appropriates $23 million for support of public libraries. Passed, 28-7.

SB 440 (Alquist) — Requires that the director of the state Department of Transportation be a licensed civil engineer. Passed, 21-10.

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AGRICULTURE

AB 801 (Lehman) — Sets standards for approval of projects resulting in conversion of land from agricultural to non-agricultural use. Passed, 45-24.

AB 960 (Hallett) — Increases fees used to support the California Beef Council. Passed, 58-19.

EDUCATION

AB 876 (M. Waters) — Authorizes use of binding arbitration of disciplinary actions in collective bargaining agreements between schools and non-teaching employees. Passed, 43-29.

AB 1504 (Marguth) — Authorizes schools to lay off teachers for lack of funds if negotiations fail. Defeated, 33-28.

AB 2391 (Hannigan) — Allows school districts to assess $20 textbook fee to cover cost of lost or damaged books. Passed, 49-24.

ELECTIONS

SB 1194 (M. Garcia) — Lowers number of valid signatures needed in random sampling so that Proposition 8 can qualify for the ballot this June. Passed, 57-12.

AB 2193 (Harris) — Establishes system of public-financing of political campaigns. Defeated, 44-26 (54 votes required).

HOUSING

AB 781 (Levine) — Requires owners of residential property to install energy-saving devices. Passed, 45-24.

AB 888 (D. Stirling) — Requires sellers of homes to reveal known substantial defects in the property. Failed, 22-36.

STATE FINANCE

AB 1253 (Papan) — Raises $481 million to balance state budget. Passed, 55-16.

AB 55 (Hughes) — Abolishes unitary method of taxing multi-national corporations. Passed, 45-21.

AB 6x (Robinson) — Accelerates state collection of income taxes withheld from employees. Passed, 42-29.

ASSEMBLY (49D, 31R)

	AB 801	AB 960	AB 876	AB 1504	AB 2391	SB 1194	AB 2193	AB 781	AB 888	AB 1253	AB 55	AB 6x
Agnos (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	*	Y
Alatorre (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Baker (R)	*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	*	*	N	Y	N	N
Bane (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Bates (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	*	N
Bergeson (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	*	Y
Berman (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Bosco (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Brown, D. (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Brown, W. (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Campbell (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	*	N
Chacon (D)	*	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y
Cortese (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	*	*	Y	Y	N	Y	*	Y
Costa (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Cramer (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	*	Y
Deddeh (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
Duffy (R)	Y	Y	N	*	Y	N	*	*	Y	N	N	Y
Elder (D)	Y	N	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
Farr (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y
Felando (R)	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	*	N
Filante (R)	N	Y	N	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
Floyd (D)	Y	N	Y	*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Frazee (R)	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	N	N
Frizzelle (R)	N	Y	N	N	*	*	Y	N	Y	Y	*	N
Goggin (D)	Y	Y	*	*	*	*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Greene (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	Y	Y	*	N
Hallett (R)	N	Y	*	Y	*	*	*	*	Y	N	Y	N
Hannigan (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Harris (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Hart (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Herger (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Hughes (D)	Y	*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y
Imbrecht (R)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	N	*	Y
Ingalls (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
Ivers (R)	*	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	*
Johnson (R)	N	Y	N	*	Y	N	N	Y	*	Y	N	Y
Johnston (D)	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y
Kapiloff (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Katz (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Kelley (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	*	Y
Konnyu (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N
LaFollette (R)	N	Y	N	*	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Lancaster (R)	N	Y	N	*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Lehman (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*
Leonard (R)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	*	N	Y	N	*	N
Levine (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Lewis (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Lockyer (D)	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Marguth (R)	*	Y	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*
Martinez (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
McAlister (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	*	N	Y	Y	*	N
McCarthy (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Moore (D)	Y	N	Y	*	N	*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Moorhead (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Mountjoy (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	*	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Naylor (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Nolan (R)	*	*	N	*	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Papan (D)	*	N	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Robinson (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Rogers (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	*	N
Roos (D)	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Rosenthal (D)	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Ryan (R)	Y	Y	N	*	Y	Y	*	*	Y	N	N	N
Sebastiani (R)	N	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	*	N	N
Sher (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Statham (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	*	*	N	Y	*	N
Stirling, D. (R)	*	Y	*	Y	*	*	*	*	Y	N	Y	N
Stirling, L. (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tanner (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Thurman (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Torres (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	*	N
Tucker (D)	*	*	Y	N	N	*	*	*	Y	*	*	Y
Vasconcellos (D)	Y	N	Y	N	*	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	Y
Vicencia (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Waters, M. (D)	*	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	*
Waters, N. (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Wray (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Wright (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Wyman (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N
Young (D)	*	Y	*	*	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	*	Y

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Arts and the States, a report of the Arts Task Force, National Conference of State Legislatures. 96 pp., paperback, available at $6 from the National Conference of State Legislatures, 1125 17th St., 15th floor, Denver, Colo. 80202.

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The Absolutely Unassailable Statement

By CHARLES McFADDEN

Watch for them; see how many you can spot during this political year.

Political junkies have as much fun collecting them as birdwatchers do when they spot the first robin of spring.

Ronald Reagan has been using them for years, but they cross party lines.

What are they? They're the smoothly rounded, decisive-sounding but comfortably unspecific statements politicians fashion in answer to potentially disastrous questions from reporters.

There's always a tug-of-war going on at any political news conference between the public figure who called it and the reporters in attendance. They want him or her to say something that will give them a Gee Whiz story. The politician wants lots of attention, without saying anything specific enough to blow away any part of his potential support.

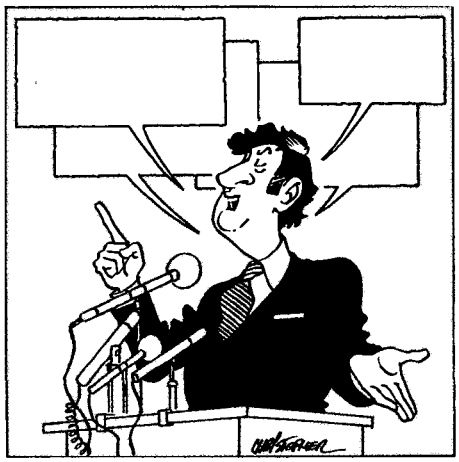
Political figures had to find a way to survive, and they did. Years ago they invented the Absolutely Unassailable Statement. "Certainly, no one should avoid their fair share of taxes," Reagan once told reporters at a news conference. Who among the press is going to say, "Wrong, sir, some people *should* avoid paying their fair share of taxes!"

Although it is one of the oldest examples of political artistry in use (Reagan's above quote goes back to 1967), the Absolutely Unassailable Statement is by no means the only technique in the politicians' repertoire.

During 1982, you'll probably also be reading and hearing many examples of the Let's All Hope maneuver. Pretend for a moment that a reporter has just said this to a prominent public figure running for re-election: "The crime rate has gone up 120 percent during the three years you've been in office — what about that?" If he's been relying too heavily on Absolutely Unassailable Statements of late, the politician may reply: "I think we *all* hope that the underlying causes of crime — the poverty, the softheaded judges, the hopelessness — will finally be brought under control within a reasonable time, with reasonable legislation, and Californians may soon be able to walk the streets without fear."

Or: "Governor, are you going to raise taxes this year?"

"Let's *all* hope that the frugality and fiscal restraint practiced by my administration during the past three and



one-half years will mean that we can get through the next fiscal year without a substantial rise in the tax burden borne by the people of California."

If neither of these techniques seems quite the thing, the politician may opt for a third tried-and-true escape from potential disaster: Tell a story. "You know," the officeholder or candidate can say, hunkering down over the lectern, "your question reminds me of the time when . . ." and so on. And on. The secret here is to make the story as appropriate as possible but, more important, make it fairly long. If you can just make it long enough, everyone may have forgotten the original question or you can rephrase it to match the answer you'd like to give.

A somewhat similar escape route is the lecture-them-to-death ploy or, as it's sometimes called, the old overwhelm-them-with-history stratagem. It does require a command of one's subject:

"Governor, are you for or against the Peripheral Canal?"

"California has always had a very serious concern with water. The problem is, there's too much of it sometimes in the northern part of the state, and there's sometimes too little of it in the southern part of the state. Now in 1913 . . ."

Again, the idea is to use up enough time so that a glassy-eyed corps of reporters forgets the original query, or at least is so tired of the subject by the time your answer has wound down that they don't want to hear any more about it and recoil from asking those deadly follow-up questions.

The late Nelson Rockefeller, while governor of New York and vice president of the United States, used a variation on the theme by lecturing his audiences of reporters at length on truth, God and the American Way. Sometimes he threw in the flag for good measure. Reporters who covered him regularly came around to inventing a name for it: BOMFOG (for Brotherhood of Man under the Fatherhood of God).

If delivered with enough emphasis and effective pauses, the above political survival techniques can usually allow a candidate or officeholder to pirouette through an encounter session with reporters without saying anything specific enough to antagonize anyone. If the public figure has enough wit and presence, this can at least get him by the danger point and onto another topic before reporters — forgivably befuddled — realize they've just been fed a gob of verbal cotton candy.

The trick is to remember that these tactics should not be overused, because then the politician can develop a reputation for being evasive, talkative or — worst of all — dull. The Absolutely Unassailable Statements should be regarded as political lifejackets. You don't wear them everywhere you go.

And now that you're a political technique-spotter, you're like the football fan who knows the difference between a split end and a quarterback sneak. Anyone can understand the final score, but you understand a little more about how it happened.

Charles McFadden is director of university relations at Sacramento State University and a former reporter for the Associated Press.

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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

A question of tradeoffs

Ten years ago, when San Francisco Democrat Phil Burton also masterminded congressional reapportionment in California, Republican Bob Mathias ran up against a classic example of partisan gerrymander. The former Olympic decathlon champion, with six years of service in the House, inherited a 300-mile-long district that ran north from Death Valley through deserts, mountains, forests and abandoned gold towns to the edge of the Sacramento Valley. Mathias' new domain covered eight counties and portions of three others. It was within 50 miles of both Sacramento and Las Vegas — the kind of district political purists love to decry.

MATHIAS, HOWEVER, WAS HAPPY as a clam. Sure enough, his district was weird-looking. But it provided cozy protection against would-be Democratic challengers. An opponent from Mono would have no name recognition in Amador -- and vice versa. There was no single media market (or even two or three) to saturate the district or convenient highway access to meet the people. It was a set-up ideally suited to an incumbent with a famous name and mail-franking privileges. To use a favorite Burton expression, Mathias was "in his mother's arms." And he won the 1972 election hands down.

Mathias' political paradise, however, had a short life. In Sacramento, Republicans charged that Burton and the Democratic Legislature had been too greedy in drawing new boundaries for Assembly, state Senate and congressional seats. Ronald Reagan, then governor, vetoed the reapportionment legislation. The California Supreme Court (pre-Rose Bird) was forced to intervene. The judges let Mathias and other congressional candidates run in the Burton-fashioned districts in 1972. However, since the Legislature and the governor couldn't agree, the court, with help from nonpartisan experts, drew a new set of lines.

The judges' handiwork demolished Mathias' old district and left him with a new one that was small, neat and compact. After ranging across 11 counties, he took over a constituency that consisted merely of Kings County and parts of Fresno and Tulare. Goodbye Burton gerrymander; hello textbook reform. Mathias no longer was smiling. The new district was perfect for a challenge by Democrat John Krebs, a Fresno County supervisor who won in 1974 and launched Mathias on a new career of training American athletes in quest of Olympic medals. Republican Mathias, insulated in 1972 by Democrat Burton against partisan challenge, was defeated in 1974 because of a Reagan veto.

Mathias was not the only GOP casualty that year. California Republicans suffered major losses in state legislative and congressional elections. But 1974 also was the year that voters punished the GOP for Watergate and, in the ensuing debacle, relatively little attention was paid to the impact of court-designed districts on Republican officeholders. Yet, at least a couple of losses in the congressional delegation were directly attributable to the Republican decision to go to the mat with Burton.

Sounds familiar? Of course. Ten years later, Republicans again are crying foul. Once more, they are determined to knock over a Burton plan approved by a Democratic-controlled Legislature. Repeating the script, the state Supreme Court has allowed the Burton lines to go into effect for this year. But new reapportionment maps are in the offing for 1984 and beyond — thanks to a referendum challenge in June and a GOP-Common Cause initiative in November to take reapportionment out of the Legislature and entrust it to a bipartisan commission. At this point, strategists in both parties predict victory for both of these "reform" moves.

Congressional Republicans are elated, as they were 10 years ago when Reagan aborted Burton's grand design for the 1970s. However, history could repeat itself and again deal the GOP some unpleasant surprises if permanent ground rules for reapportionment are changed. Until now, the watchword has been to protect incumbents of both parties. It didn't matter whether Burton and the Democrats controlled the process or whether Republicans had majority control of the Legislature. Every 10 years, California reapportionment has been first and foremost an exercise in producing safe districts for congressional incumbents. When Republicans called the shots in 1951, they skimmed some seats off the top for themselves. Burton and the Democrats similarly tilted the equation the other way. But when you strip away all the hullabaloo about partisan gerrymanders, the underlying reality is that more than 90 percent of incumbents on both sides of the aisle ended up "in their mother's arms" — even under Burton's latest creation.

WHAT HAPPENS DOWN THE LINE if an outside commission takes over reapportionment and tilts the balance against incumbents by drawing mainly marginal districts? After all, the only way to chisel away at a "safe" Democratic district is to transfer many of its Democratic voters to a nearby GOP district. Republicans say they're willing to take this gamble and run in more competitive districts. A "neutral" reapportionment would work to their advantage, they argue, because they can pump more dollars into congressional races. They also maintain that suburban and blue-collar voting blocs have become more conservative and would give Republicans an edge in districts with a fairly even partisan balance in voter registration. Perhaps. But politics is a fickle business. Middle-class voters who turned to the right in the 1970s could quickly turn to the left if the economy continues to sour. The new wave of uprisings against high utility bills in conservative bedroom communities ought to give Republicans pause.

Past pro-incumbent gerrymanders spawned a delegation of fairly staunch liberals on the Democratic side and equally strong conservatives in GOP ranks. Creation of "centrist" districts under the impulse of reform could threaten both wings. It might weaken the two-party system and the seniority strength of Californians on Capitol Hill. The net result could be a new breed of officeholders even more addicted to big-media campaigns and special-interest money. Reforms, whether bred by Common Cause or others, are not immune from unforeseen consequences.

Of course, it's possible the new reapportionment commission might not torpedo the old order at all. It might become instead a bargaining forum where emissaries from both parties, under benign judicial cover, cut a quiet deal out of the public limelight. If that's the idea, however, why fool around in the first place?

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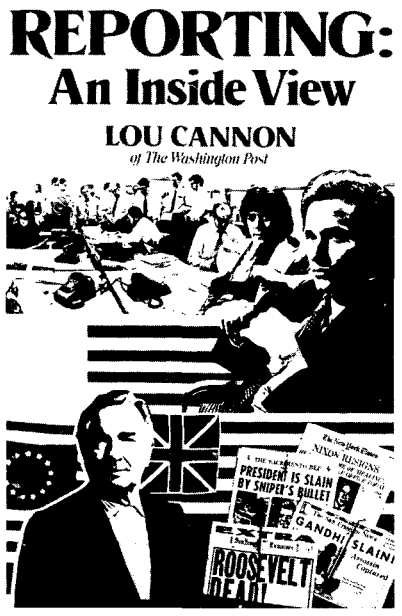

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The art of taxation
consists in so plucking the goose
to obtain the largest amount of feathers
with the least possible amount of hissing.
— J. B. Colbert

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